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THIS HUMAN NATURE



THIS HUMAN NATURE

A HISTORY : A COMMENTARY : AN EXPOSITION

From the earliest times to the present day

CHARLES DUFF

*"The history of these animals with which we are best acquainted,
forms the first object of our chiefest curiosity."—Goldsmith.*

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TO
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I HAVE consulted so many books while writing "This Human Nature" that now I hardly remember the names of one-half of those to which I am indebted either for material or suggestions. The Bibliography at the end, I think, covers works to which I am under the greatest obligations, apart from those already cited in footnotes throughout the book. I sincerely hope that there is no offensive omission: for that would annoy me more than it could offend the person whose name I left out. But if there is, then I trust that my attention will be drawn to it. I have no desire to take upon my shoulders the knowledge and wisdom of ages; and I hardly believe in originality of ideas in literature. That there can be originality in the form and manner of presenting ideas is not disputed; and of this, all I desire to claim as my own is a small measure.

I wish to thank Charles Hunt, Albert Kenfield, and Norman E. Nash: the first for reading the manuscript, the second for assistance rendered in many ways, and the third for moral support and kindly supervision in the (to me) terrifying task of proof-reading. I desire also to record my deep indebtedness to Dr. David Duff; he has helped me in a brotherly manner across obstacles which might otherwise have brought me down. Lastly, I wish to thank Mrs. Ivy M. Duff, my very active partner in the whole enterprise, who has relieved me of burdens which threatened to overwhelm. The result of all this encouragement has been to make the actual writing of the book an enjoyable spare-time task during the last year.

It would be too much to expect that, in a work of such scope, no errors have crept in. One can but hope that they are not serious. I shall be most grateful to have my attention directed to inaccuracies, however slight, so that they may be rectified if the work so far justifies itself to be worthy of a place amongst histories and commentaries of a less conventional nature. The subject is one of general interest and, of course, has never before been dealt with satisfactorily by any writer. Quot homines, tot sententiæ.

C. D.

LONDON, 1930.

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BOOK I

A PREFACE TO ALL HISTORY
AND A CONSIDERATION OF
THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS
OF HUMAN NATURE

THE ANGEL GABRIEL (*to God*) : How would it be if You was to doom 'em all ag'in, like dat time You sent down de flood?

GOD : You see how much good de flood did. Dere dey is, jest as bad as ever.

GABRIEL : How about cleaning up de whole mess of 'em and sta'tin' all over ag'in wid some new kind of animal?

GOD : An' admit I'm licked?

GABRIEL (*ashamedly*) : No, of co'se not, Lawd.

The Green Pastures.

By Marc Connelly.

El hombre es como Dios le hizo, y aun peor muchas veces.

Cervantes.

§ 1. WHYS AND WHEREFORES, IF ANY

VERY little is known of human nature, and one reason for this is that man has always made great efforts to hide his true nature. We do not even know the origin of mankind; and talk of man's destiny must be as it always has been, sheer balderdash. Researches into the antiquity of our remote ancestors have covered as yet a limited geographical area: a few parts of Europe, one or two districts in Northern Africa, and certain spots in Western Asia and North America have been superficially investigated and have even been made to yield a few elementary but futile secrets. We are as yet barely entitled to suggest a possible hypothesis regarding our beginning, though whether there can be any real utility in bothering at all about the origin of mankind is a moot point, upon which I for one do not propose to waste either the reader's or my own time. We are here because we are here; and no man that has ever lived can give a better reason.

¶ *The cosmic importance of man*

Amongst the mountains of books that have been written about the myriad of aspects of human nature, not one seems to offer a satisfying speculation regarding the cause of one of them. To some people it may appear rather pitiable that we mortals should not know whence we came, where we go—if "go" is the right word—when we die; or why. We are never sure of the reasons (if any) why we behave as we do while we are here. One of the most difficult problems to decide is which is the wise man and which is the fool. By modern standards, Henry Ford or the man who can cure halitosis is

great, and Socrates a perverse old blatherskite who never did a useful hand's turn in his life; rather he wasted his own and other men's time by poking an inquisitive nose in the direction of mere ideas. Man's short and conceited strut on this earth hardly gives him time to realize his utter insignificance in the "Space-Time-Continuum" (!) in which this alleged globe spins its mystical little part. For all that, we are living matter: as we can prove to ourselves (but not necessarily to others) by sitting on a red-hot cinder. In history, nations appear and disappear like colonies of ants; and for almost the same reasons. A casual glance through a telescope may show us what looks to be a world similar to our own smashed to smithereens in a collision with a silly wandering comet. Astronomers assure us that this is not likely to happen to us; but in nature the unexpected is not uncommon; nor are astronomers infallible. In history, the lives of the greatest men when closely examined show them to be human beings not greatly dissimilar from ourselves; their story is often little better than a tale told to idiots.

Now we have reached the twentieth century of the Christian era and in it life differs from life in the past only in that it is more complex and faster. But beneath this speeding up, which as yet devastates only limited areas of the earth's surface, there is the old and elemental product: human nature. And this human nature is not uninteresting to observe; it may even be amusing. Man is still by far the most interesting animal (and this term also includes woman). His place in the universal order of things lies somewhere between devil and deity, on which side it is sometimes difficult to determine. The first study of man must always be man, and in such a study a little science may be useful. But let us be frank in regard to this: science contains much which, for want of a better word, we may put

under that broad heading of bunk. Psychology, for example, flounders in a sea of pawky contradictions so absurd that were we to take them seriously they would deprive us of mind. Anthropologists may give us the dimensions of the caveman's brainbox, and yet neither they nor any other scientists can tell us the meaning of laughter, for which the Lord be praised. Nor can they tell why a mere idea (or even a tone of voice) may produce important chemical changes in our blood, or emotions which may cause us to writhe or groan. But they try hard, and there is certainly no lack of words about all this. In the meantime we go on and on.

¶ *Climate the earliest and most important influence*

Since it is useless for us to speculate upon the arrival of man on this earth, let us accept him in his primitive state; for in this he may still be found in many places. Let us imagine him, then, upon the sparsely populated globe of, say, half a million years ago. Primitive man was and is very close to the animal in habits, and sometimes in appearance also. In those early days he lived in very severe climatic conditions, and his first problems then as now were to find food and shelter. The natural modifications of the earth's surface must have had a tremendous influence on the pristine formation and development of human nature. Oscillations of the terrestrial crust, the chief contributing cause of glacial cataclysms, modified the climate of large areas including those which were inhabited, often causing even whole continents to disappear, or cutting communications. We still have with us the legend of the lost continent Atlantis, and there is some evidence to show that such a place existed. Change of climate may work easily noticeable changes in man's nature; not only do the temperate zones produce more virile and energetic races than the tropics, but prolonged residence of a

tropical man in the temperate zone or of a temperate zone man in the tropics, may cause changes even in one lifetime. The change is slight, but it is there all the same. The contemporary Negro in the United States differs slightly from the native African, in that he is not so lethargic. If a new planetary movement were suddenly to change the climate of Europe and North America to that of the river Amazon area in Brazil, we might be sure of losing much of our dynamic energy. Such climatic changes were not infrequent in the early days of man. It will be realized, therefore, that as the climate of the world has tended and is tending to change slightly there has been a parallel change in human nature: in a sense we are all becoming more temperate, with the climate. But the change is very gradual.

We are still swayed by the heritage of the past: at least 400,000 years of quasi-animal existence; 100,000 years or thereabouts a hunting animal following who knows how long as a hunted animal; 25,000 years as social beings, of which period there are records going back 10,000 years. In this period of 10,000 years at least four great civilizations have passed through their spring, summer, autumn, and winter, their infancy, youth, prime, and old age: in Egypt, in China, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and in Arabia. To these may be added a fifth which for convenience we call Western Civilization, and it includes America. Its springtime began a thousand years ago amongst Western European nations, and already the older peoples in it can feel the first blasts which mark the beginning of winter.

Professor Dorsey has already given us a spirited account of "Why We Behave Like Human Beings" and of the "Hows and Whys of Human Behavior" in two books with these titles, and there is no need to touch

upon that ground again; such works are admirable as far as they go. But there are more ways than one of dealing with such a subject, and in the history of human nature there is much virgin soil. Here I propose to attempt a survey of this history, as it appears to me. The great difficulty is to glean from a mountainous rubbish heap of historical writings a few of the most significant facts, sparse diamonds of common sense, and to work them to a pattern which will be becoming to human nature as a whole.

¶ *Two thousand million liars?*

There are about two thousand million men, women, and children alive now, and a cursory glance at their nature and at history will convince us that no two human beings are alike or regard their fellows in precisely the same light. Another fact will become apparent as the present work progresses, and it is that man is seldom a greater liar than when he writes or speaks of himself. The greatest caution is therefore necessary in an examination of historical records. There is a school of thought which teaches that it is impossible for any person to write the true history of anything, because truth means something different to each human being. I myself believe that there can be no such thing as objective writing, because between the subject matter and what is actually written there intervenes a human personality: a bundle of emotions, vices, virtues, illusions, and prejudices.

¶ *Pilate's great question: What is truth?*

To illustrate this I may cite a modern experiment in psychology, one which gives an astounding side-light on human nature. It is one which ought never be forgotten by historians, journalists, lawyers; or even by readers of this book. A professor wished to test both the accuracy of his pupils in observation and their ability to reproduce in writing what they had observed.

His class consisted of educated and intelligent young men and women of this twentieth century. Without previous warning a simple incident was enacted in their presence during a lecture in classroom, and *immediately afterwards* each pupil was asked to write a full account of what had occurred. Each one had a different story to tell; they were not even agreed about what might be essentials. The incident was repeated a second time. It was a simple incident, such as a child could appreciate and understand. But even the second accounts were grossly inaccurate and conflicting. Repeated yet a third time only a few could write down with anything approaching accuracy an account of that little event with the incidents leading to it, in the exact order of occurrence, and with a reasonable sense of perspective.

A slow-motion cinematograph picture showed these young people what had actually happened, and they were bewildered. A few of the more "strong-minded" among them argued that they were right and the film wrong. So it is with history, about which our doubts must always be great. There are two different accounts of the creation, both inspired by the Creator. There are four differing accounts of the life of Jesus, all written by men of impeccable character and above suspicion in the worldly sense. This being so, let us be merciful and forgive the ordinary human historians their human nature.

Nevertheless, on the strength of the above, we may propound a useful axiom for all readers of history and newspapers. It is this: Assume that historians and all other writers are prejudiced, consciously or unconsciously; that there can be no such thing as impartiality; that he who claims it is either a knave or a slave or a fool; and that above all it is part of the nature of writers to be perverse. The more brilliant a piece of

writing is, the more likely it is to disarm suspicion. So beware.

No excuse is offered for the tone of this survey.

¶ *The road to ruin*

We see around us men and women at their best and at their worst, and the humdrum of life provides us with a mean or norm. A definite standard or "yard stick" is hardly possible or even necessary in assessing human nature, which is only nakedly exposed during stress or emergency or by pure accident. A king or president, prime minister or bishop, or great financier who dared expose his real nature to the world would be straightway ruined. As a rule such star turns of mankind are well aware of that simple fact, though they very often make the mistake of underestimating the perspicacity of their more humble fellow creatures. Even Napoleon failed in the long run to do as he pleased. But mostly the mob is so blind, apathetic, ignorant, or helpless that a great rascal with the aid of bounce and bluff, and a working knowledge of human nature may stalk brazenly through life, loudly advertising hoof and horns. The ordinary man is so frightened when other men begin to know his true nature that he hastens to disguise it as quickly as possible: by dissimulation, mystification, hocus-pocus, exaggeration, romance, and rationalization; not to mention a host of other very human tricks, far too familiar to the reader to be worthy of mention here.

A swift survey of recorded history shows us that in the mass human nature has changed very little. The great religions assume that there is never any change. Possibly if any great change ever occurred it was during those hundreds of thousands of years from which no record has survived. Manners and customs (or, as some insist upon calling them, morals) may have become a little more cruel in their mental as opposed to

physical effects; or on occasion more refined in their cruelty. But as regards the basic instincts and emotions, one human being is still much the same as another; and each age in world history is like another, in this respect.

In his ponderous "Decline of the West" the distinguished German mystical theorist and historical thaumaturgist, Oswald Spengler, would show us that each epoch throws up its "type," which differs from the "types" thrown up in other periods of history. In the civilizations best known to us he exemplifies three principal "types" of man, the Apollinian, Faustian, and Magian; and we are to believe that the very nature of these types differs—that western man has changed, and will change again. But is not the change one merely of intellect and manners—both very superficial things—and not in the innate character of the animal? Were Socrates alive today, and you stood heavily upon his pet corn (supposing he had a corn, and a pet one), it is doubtful if all his wisdom could enable him to preserve that philosophic calm for which his name is famous: pain, real or imagined, always reacts in resentment or wrath. Stick a Woolworth's pin into the sitting part of Mr. G. B. Shaw, and Mr. G. B. Shaw will yell more loudly than is his wont. The social indignation from which he habitually, but very patiently, suffers may in this manner easily be changed into anger of quite a different sort against you as an individual. Imagine another experiment: Place three of Spengler's healthy young Apollinian, Faustian, and Magian males on an island by themselves with only one pretty young woman of eighteen or twenty summers, and what problems would surely arise? Only one; and that would not be based upon reason or morality or manners. It is doubtful if the woman would be given the vote in such circumstances. If there were no restraints of law, and no unwritten code of morals on that island, it would be

surprising if the problem were solved without violence: the most likely, and probably the best solution biologically, being a process of elimination, which would leave one man to share his lean-to with the outwardly resentful, but inwardly delighted woman. For in such matters as this the woman is instinctively cruel; and, happily, incapable of civilization.

¶ *Lofty purpose of this work*

Interesting as such speculations may be, it may perhaps be as well at this early stage of this treatise to define more clearly its scope and purpose; and to indicate to whom it is more particularly addressed. It is a survey in easy terms of human nature, as shown by the behavior of men and women toward their fellows and the universe, in the course of history, and at the present day. Let us hope that from it we shall be able to draw a reasonable forecast of mankind's future. Two classes of people must assuredly reap enormous benefits from a careful perusal of such a work. First, those who wish to know the nature of their friends and enemies in order that they may love and help them. This class is a very numerous one. Secondly, those who, by learning more about their fellow creatures, may thereby perhaps be able to add to their material possessions. There are so few of this somewhat sordid class in a world which, after two thousand years of fasting and prayer, is nearing perfection, that we may almost leave them out of consideration.

This perfection is not difficult to illustrate. The peoples of the chief civilized nations of the world have hardly yet recovered from the most devastating and cruel war of which we know, but they must needs be preparing hypocritically for another. Europe has now ten million more men under arms than she had in 1914, and the United States does not neglect measures of defense and preparations for the bigger and better

slaughter of the millions of enemies which its worldly success has inevitably created. All this demonstrates in a fairly practical and easily comprehensible manner the profound effect which the Sermon on the Mount has had upon the better side of human nature. The prosaic cloud of poison gas has replaced the more picturesque cloud of arrows, in itself clearly proving our moral superiority over primitive man and the generations that come between us and them. Are not the users of high explosives spiritually superior to the wielders of clubs and battle-axes? Is not the aerial incendiary bomb, which grills the sleeping infant, a fair indication of the tender hearts which beat amongst the leaders of the higher races? Could anything be sweeter to contemplate than the fact that during the recent European war it was not uncommon on both sides for guns to be blessed before an action began? I can assure the pious reader from personal observation that in at least one case the results were in every way satisfactory.

It is almost a truism with writers that the moral sentiment of men and women has now reached a high state of development. There is no doubt whatever that it has improved noticeably as a result of the teachings of the great moralists, as a result of bludgeonings, wars of religion, religious torture, hangings and electrocutions, vegetarianism, widespread and easy communications, and modern influences such as Couéism, Christian Science, and the Four-Square Gospel.

¶ *Morality depends on mob mind*

Moral sentiment was based entirely upon material expediency and custom. Originally the actions of men were good or evil in accordance with the material utility or physical harmfulness of their consequences to the community. It is only recently, say within the last ten thousand years, or thereabouts, that men ever thought of motives leading to actions, and this was a

philosophical subtlety of the lazier, more intelligent members of the tribe who preferred the comfort of the fireside, with the eternal delights of gossip and argument, to the rigors and vicissitudes of the hunt. The theory of the origin of evil which most fits common observation is that it sprang from the desire of the individual either to gain pleasure or to avoid discomfort. It did not always occur to the individual to consider that what pleased him might not only cause his fellows actual discomfort but be prejudicial to the interests of the tribe at large. Hence a man was regarded as good or "moral" if his behavior did not interfere with the well-being of those around him. In other words the "moral" man was he, and the "moral" woman she, who obeyed laws and customs accepted by usage, however strange they might be.

As circumstances changed, the old laws and customs remained, but the desire for pleasure and the avoidance of discomfort also remained in individuals. Throughout the whole of history there have been in every country, race, and community, men and women who were "immoral" because their innate desires conflicted with the generally accepted wishes of the community, and also because the conservatism of a small but powerful section of communities always fights for the continuation of ancient law and custom. Thus, in the early days of strong drink, it was evil for a man to get drunk because the tribe might at any moment require his services in battle. Today in prohibition countries, we have a similar instance: in the United States men and women are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages because of the possible loss in material efficiency, represented by a collection of dollars in a bank. There has always been, and still exists, yet another class of persons who are marked down as immoral simply because they annoy their neighbors without actually harming them. Until

recently, amongst the aborigines of Australia, such persons had their insides magically tied in knots by an art which is now unhappily lost.

¶ *Man is a new animal*

But let us return. It may be assumed (in view of the wisdom of that curiosity, the average man) that our ancestry is both long and distinguished; and that our forebears may once have had the good sense to career about on all fours, and to munch nuts in the tree tops. At the same time we must not take too much for granted, because another Lamarck or Darwin may arise to reverse the present theory of evolution, and prove by a mighty array of "facts" that the biblical story is correct.

At a rough computation there have lived ten thousand generations of descendants of the ape-men: a total of, say, twenty million millions of human beings who have inhabited the world since those far-off days when our hairy ancestor pommeled the ground with his closed fists in stupid rage at the duplicity of his soul-mate. As the earth itself is so very, very old, we may regard man as a comparatively new arrival upon it. Indeed he is still raw and somewhat awkward in his new surroundings. Many races have not yet learned the use of clothes, and, when we civilized people visit a primitive tribe of Negroes, we are amused at the sight of a dark gentleman wearing a collar and tie, a top hat, a loin-cloth and spats, with nothing else to cover his nakedness. But we are no more startled than were the Africans who first saw a white man wearing a bowler hat or plus fours, and were staggered by the sight—not without reason, I think.

Nobody knows for certain whether there is life in any of the planetary systems; but there seems to be no reason why life in a form beyond our comprehension should not exist in other parts of the universe, espe-

cially as we cannot understand that form of it with which we are acquainted here. Nor is there any reason to suppose that, if there is life in other worlds, it reaches its highest point in beings resembling our friends and neighbors. The probabilities are all against it, but to think of such matters is good for the soul, and helps us to gain a sense of perspective of our place in nature. The only reasonable conclusion one can reach by such contemplation is that we are about as important in the universal scheme of things as an influenza germ in a gin palace.

¶ *A bungled job?*

It is only modern man who has regarded the world as anything but the center of the known universe, and himself as anything but the highest and most important form of life that has ever existed, or could possibly exist. But, if science now teaches us otherwise as regards the universe, we know by looking round our narrow circle of acquaintances, by considering some of the greatest figures in history, their lives and habits, and then by thinking of ourselves, that, if there is no higher form of life than man, there has surely been a piece of bungling somewhere. It is, however, a comfort to realize that to have peace of mind while we are here it is unnecessary for us to solve such problems, tantalizing as they are. At the same time there is no reason why we should not amuse ourselves by examining briefly into this state of life to which it has pleased God to call us; and perhaps form a working hypothesis regarding its basis and structure. Such things have amused stupid men as far back as the memory of the human race extends; for none but stupid men and women imagine that by the aid of a finite mind they can grasp infinite things.

Let us go back as close to the beginning as is practical, and take a cursory glance at that now famous

ancestor of ours, the unpleasant blob of animate jelly which the textbooks call protozoon. How did it deport itself and habitually behave toward its fellow protozoon in those very remote days (so remote that there is no record of them except in human imagination) before it succeeded in achieving the dignity and status of the walking ape which, by the grace of God, became man?

¶ *The proud protozoon*

The spiritual side of the protozoon's nature consisted chiefly of pride in itself, and so utterly proud was it that its chief desires were divided between self-preservation and self-reproduction. It had no sex to speak of, and therefore experienced neither joy nor grief in the process of multiplication; indeed it must have had a dull, miserable existence; and was quite incapable of being psychoanalyzed by Freudian technique. Its courtship, like that of a religious ascetic, was of itself; its wooing was eating and drinking. Then at maturity it would break up into *nuclei*, round which portions of simple living matter remained or gathered to grow into baby protozoa: replicas of their principal or creator. They in turn became other protozoa, and such was the simple cycle of primitive life: *pride in self* provided the motive of life, the *élan vital* of Bergson. From this we may argue that SELFISHNESS was the driving force of primeval organic life.

It is nevertheless true that this love of self, pride in self, selfishness—call it what you will—manifests itself in a myriad forms. But it is not a rule that the more complex forms of life must necessarily have it in a complex form, though the tendency is that way. The form in which selfishness occurs differs in individual animals and men, differs from age to age, from country to country, race to race, and often from time to time in the life of the same person in different circumstances. Selfish-

ness works in a thousand disguises, many of them amazingly difficult to find if you are not looking for them. Who suspects of selfishness the dear old lady who seeks out the blind beggar to give him a shilling? But does she not do this for the sake of a very self-satisfying thrill, even when pity or bad conscience are in the background?

I am informed—if I may digress for a moment—that to contemplate the origin of our race in a speck of jelly, and our progressive development through an elaborate ancestry of sponges, worms, clams, centipedes, sharks, snakes, lizards, sloths, and monkeys is very distressing to many good people. It is a shock to those sacred religious beliefs which they have learned from their parents and teachers. But let them just think for one moment of the truth behind the stork story: that they have themselves a germinal origin and a humiliating embryonic development, as every schoolgirl now knows; and then let them consider seriously the prospect presented in the other theory; and there is really very little in it to which exception may be taken.

¶ *Enmity based on the desire for life*

But to return to our ancestral jelly. In the protozoon there was that strange spark which for want of a better word we call life. It was essentially a *craving to live*, and this craving manifests itself everywhere throughout the plant, animal, and human world. Basically it is primitive feeling, and throughout every phase of existence it retains at all times its principal features. The old proverb says, "Self-preservation is the first law of nature," and this is a scientific truth. It is only when human beings lose normal reason and reach the highest pinnacles of humanity that they honestly deny the truth in this idea. Self-sacrifice may be the highest form of morality and suicide may be logical: but both are nearly always antibiological. When the protozoon ran

short of his accustomed diet, he overcame hunger by consuming one, or a part of one, of his own race. He would eat his own parent or brother. The wide-spread growth of cannibalism amongst those rather unpleasant ancestors of our was responsible for the beginning and rapid growth of self-defense, growing out of fear, based on self-interest, and ultimately springing from pride and the craving for self-continuation and perpetuation. Thus the spirit of enmity arose and flourished. Eaters were considered enemies by the possible meals; and vice versa. Hence the origin of an ineradicable habit common to all life. War. So long as protozoa are hungry they will fight to exist. It is the simple law of all life. It applies equally in the jungle, and amongst civilized nations today. So long as there are so many people that existing food supply is insufficient, there is only one way out: destruction, usually in the form of war. There are, of course, other causes for war. It has been made into an amusement at different times in the world's history. There have been wars for which the only reason was the whim or fancy of a ruler. There have been wars regarding invisible and intangible things, such as the Supreme Being, Hell, or the Devil. There have been purely grabbing wars, not prompted by sheer hunger, but by greed. And there have been wars such as the recent European war, for which no set of satisfactory reasons has yet been found, but which may be blamed ultimately upon sheer human stupidity, and human cussedness on both sides. The social and spiritual changes in mankind that have resulted from war are without number.

The antagonism which springs from selfishness exists throughout all nature, often with very beneficial results. Is not competition the soul of trade? Two firms produce or sell similar articles, and in order to attract customers they must attempt to surpass each other, if

not in the quality or fine price-cutting of the goods, then in the advertising or telling lies about the goods. In advertising it is not always necessary to tell the truth, although there are on record cases where the plain truth was told with disastrous results; as many men of business may whisper in your ear.

¶ *The dominant law of human nature*

As a result of cannibalism and fighting, the protozoon developed new qualities and, indeed, evolved into entirely different forms of life. These forms might differ in outward appearance, but they all retained the original characteristics of pride in existence and selfishness, though often certain favored creatures would be able to conceal them. A million new creatures came into being, encouraged their own existence by every trick and craftiness imaginable; and they preyed upon one another. The highest form of life which sprang from primeval mud was man, who became Lord of Creation because he had more pride in his existence, more craving for life, and more selfishness than any other beast of the field.

That is a brief account of the dominant law of human nature; the law of selfishness.

This law has innumerable corollaries, one of which is that the unselfish creature is either killed or eaten—often swallowed alive—or otherwise extinguished until its species disappears. The selfish animal may develop its selfishness into a form of cunning called intelligence, and this, with an assortment of related qualities, may enable it to draw many advantages from other animals less intelligent than itself. I should perhaps mention that this theory of pride in self is by no means new. Nor is it always considered a high motive for existence. Twice at least, as we shall see later, it has been powerfully challenged: by the Indian mystic and teacher, Gautama Buddha, who taught the complete elimina-

tion of self; and again by the Jewish realist, Jesus of Nazareth, who, following the idea propounded by the Chinese philosopher Lao-tsu of six hundred years earlier, said, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

¶ *Impossible to love one's neighbor as one's self*

Both ideas have from time to time caught, held and even inflamed the imaginations of many good men. Large bodies of mankind have rendered them lip service, but very few who lived or live in the hurly-burly of life have ever attempted to put them into practice. There are others who make a spare-time amusement of playing with the precepts of moralists for an hour or so every week. That is, they make a hobby of them. In the twentieth century there is among ourselves a tacit acknowledgment of the utter impracticability of Christianity, the real reason being that to take it seriously always means the suffering of sheer physical discomfort. And man, like all other animals, prefers comfort to discomfort; more so now than ever before in the course of his existence.

This theory of pride is worth a little thought. It explains many otherwise obscure problems of life. It helps us, for example, to realize why man made God in his own image. It also explains why the fully developed type of higher man has often been driven by pride to master the technique of selfishness, and hence to form great empires; or to constitute himself a high priest of religion, a prime minister, a mathematician, or a great creative artist in literature or one of the arts; or nowadays to turn himself into a hard-boiled millionaire. Pride, says G. K. Chesterton, consists in a man's making his personality the only test, instead of making the truth the test; and cheek is not an assertion of superiority, but rather a bold attempt to balance inferiority. He goes even further, and states that all evil began with some attempt at superiority. We are able to prove the truth

of this profound Catholic thought by the example of the protozoon continuing its existence and proving its superiority over its brother by virtue of having eaten him. The rich man does precisely the same with the poor.

§ 2. SELFISHNESS; AND THE SEXUAL ORIGIN OF SOCIETY

WE have already seen that self-regard is the primary quality of living matter, whether this be in the form of protozoa, insects, or animals, including apes and men. This self-regard or selfishness is the fount of a great diversity of characteristics, some of which, such as memory, hunger, power of adjustment to environment and power of growth, are inherent; while others are acquired, or secondary characteristics, such as fear. The sexual qualities (of which I shall have much to say later), which spring from the desire for self-perpetuation, are of great importance and give rise to a host of secondary qualities upon which society is based. Indeed, the sexual qualities are largely responsible for the present organization of society.

¶ *Society based on sex*

In primitive society the only ties between human beings were the sexual, and out of this bond grew the habit of association. At first man was a solitary animal which wandered about in search of food, avoiding all others of his kind, excepting females. Over one or more of these he exercised an uncontrolled despotism and, although he permitted his mates to have no rights, he was prepared if need be to fight for them. But it is only in the lower strata of society that this is so. In the East End of London a man will still fight for his mate if another threatens to run off with her; in the West (and more aristocratic) End, he lets her go, perhaps with a

philosophic sigh of relief. This is a slight change in human nature, though an unimportant one.

A strange compound of intense individualism and the sexual instinct, blossoming into fear or hate (they are almost the same thing) and jealousy, was responsible for the family tie.

On this foundation all human institutions are based.

Following upon the mud and slime age it is conjectured that there came an age of reptiles, and then appeared the crawling mammal which learned to walk, climb, and chatter. In its wanderings through time it learned the use of language, and thereby acquired a soul. In proof of this "Doctrine of Evolution," as it is called, we are told that before man reaches maturity he even now passes through all these stages, and at maturity is maybe still near to certain members of the monkey family, both in appearance and behavior. To this I would recommend for the consideration of scientists an observation of my own: that many full-grown men and women have the characteristics of one or more of the phases of life through which we all pass before birth. I myself have often seen worms, fishes, reptiles, birds, apes, and other mammals, such as wolves and sheep, walking about on two feet, dressed in human clothing; and to all intents and purposes behaving like human beings so well that you could hardly tell them from the real article.

¶ *Tales of tails*

If still further proof of our close relationship to monkeys were necessary (and I am not at all sure that it is), we have only to consider those vestigial or rudimentary tails, often distressingly long, which are frequently found on men and women. In that advanced anti-evolution state Tennessee, in this century a baby was born with a tail eight inches long, and it grieves me to have to report that the doctors interfered

with the course of nature by sawing it off. In this manner Tennessee deals summarily with evolution. It is also recorded that, within the last fifty years, at least one distinguished and greatly beloved member of a European royal family—cream of the cream of western civilization—possessed a rudimentary tail of no mean dimensions. It was so perky that before mounting on horseback he had to cover it with a cotton “tail-stall”: otherwise the hindermost appendage of that royal person would tend to become chafed at critical moments on solemn public occasions, causing the wearer to appear to be suffering from some malady or habit such as would ill become a man of blue blood.

¶ *Pen-picture of Adam*

That fallen angel, the father of humanity, was in many ways a better man than we think he was. Nobody knows exactly what he was like, but, following the deductions of scientists, we may draw our own conclusions as to his nature and appearance. In stature he was low and thick-set, with thin legs that were inclined to be bandy; a shaggy creature of dirty yellow or brownish color, with an undershot jaw and strong yellow teeth, the canines projecting slightly over thick, sensual lips. Some say he had a dash of the ape in him; perhaps they are right. When angry, which might be at any moment, he bellowed, gnashing his molars; and tears of rage often filled his fierce little eyes. When pleased he threw back his head and showed the whole of his dental equipment, puckering cheeks and jowl as a dog does. Restless bright eyes glowered from under a low, beetle brow. His appetite was voracious, and he fed upon almost anything edible, from the lean raw flesh of his kith and kin to the roots and fruits of the forest. Nor was he above devouring carrion in seasons of necessity, for there were times when long enforced fasts made him the complete animal. The outside of his

dwelling is described by a most eminent writer as a veritable garbage-heap consisting of decayed and decaying remnants of many meals. It was only with difficulty that primitive man restrained his offspring from picking over this garbage-heap, because he was not convinced in his own mind that to eat from it was either unhealthy or unpleasant. Man even now often eats putrid food, in the form of game and cheese, as a delicacy. In China he eats rotten eggs.

The primitive man was incapable of sustained effort in anything except flight from his enemies. He never expended energy methodically, or knew method in anything. But he was capable of great physical exertion in emergency, like most lazy animals; and his robust constitution could bear severe pain and offer resistance to inclement climatic conditions. The nature of early man was mercurial: quick changes from joy to sorrow, from mirth to anger and from placidity to excitement were his wont. At one moment he would beat his wife (or wives) unmercifully, and the next he would grunt loving nothings into her (or their) not too clean ears; and perhaps playfully turn a female over to work off a short spasm of remorse or emotional reaction. Mere trifles annoyed, angered, or amused our primitive. He took little heed for the morrow, leaving that to his female housekeepers, who were also his beasts of burden—and incidentally the animals upon which he most often vented his spleen. His intellect was of the imitative sort, and its development was entirely due to a terrible struggle for existence. Early man was a hunted as well as a hunting animal, and fearful were the monsters he had to encounter. Before at last holding his own against the huge beasts and reptiles that surrounded him, he was driven from post to pillar, from cave to tree top, from one garbage heap to another; it was in this process of being hunted that he developed

most of that cunning which later became known as intellect.

¶ *Bludgeon man's first invention*

Early man could mimic cleverly the shriek of the hawk, the howl of the wolf, the meow of the scented polecat, the deep bellow of the buffalo; these mimickings were his first articulations. The track of beast or fowl was an open book which he read as he ran, in a crouching attitude, mostly on all fours, standing upright only to peer into the jungle. One man of a scientific turn of mind and of superior intelligence invented a most useful household utensil: the bludgeon. With it he could not only silence a nagging mate, but more easily defend himself against other men or animals. The bludgeon evolved into a sort of boomerang; and another genius invented the spear. The knife used was a sharp shell, and it was an ingenious fellow who thought of tying this to the end of a casting stick. These simple weapons were used with formidable strength and skill, and the power they gave to primitive men merely whetted their appetite for more. Then came the mighty genius who, by a divine stroke of wit, invented the bow capable of sending a suitably modified spear on an errand of useful destruction. Yet another man of genius came forward with poison for the end of the arrow; and in this manner was evolved the weapon which very largely helped to change man from a hunted into a hunting animal.

In the early days of humanity those who were not of the same flesh and blood were enemies, to be exterminated by any trick or trap. Man asked for no quarter and expected none. He demanded no explanation of the universe and was not troubled by abstractions other than vague, nightmarish imaginings of the "Great Unknown"—intellectual contact had not yet been established with either God or Devil. A lazy, unprogressive

brute he was, whose life was eating, drinking, sleeping, and occasionally fighting; his intellectual development, as in the case of most modern men, ceased shortly after the attainment of puberty.

¶ *Origin of language*

Communication with other members of the race was achieved by an uncouth chattering and gesticulation. It was in this communing that our primitive ancestor showed his greatest originality. Talking was his favorite pastime, just as it is among men today. An instinctive prompting caused the formulation of simple language. We do not know whether it was man or woman who first used language: but man has always used it with greatest effect in dealing with numbers of his fellow men, and woman has always used it with greatest effect in dealing with individuals. The nagging wife of the primitive had an immense influence upon the development of language, for the male was often compelled to ransack his imagination for words to reply to the usual feminine shrewishness. Many of those early words had sounds indicative of their meaning: "bow-wow," "pooh-pooh," "tut-tut," the more sophisticated word "borborygmus," and so forth are survivals to our own times. In our own age children say "choo-choo" for locomotive. It is also probable that conversation was interspersed with clickings of the tongue, gutturals, glottal stops, sniffs, snorts, and wheezings; as well as gestures and signs like those used by the deaf and dumb. Vocabulary was limited to essentials: the chase and the needs of the home. The physically lazier men remained indoors and became more subtle intellectually than those who went a hunting.

It may be interesting for us to consider for the moment the mentality of this primitive man. Probably the greatest authority on the subject is Lévy-Bruhl. He shows us that primitive man's mentality was, and is,

extremely different from our own. Everything which happened around primitive man, and was not immediately explicable or very obviously a simple occurrence, was connected with occult or mystic powers. These mystic forces, which he treats as first causes, remain invisible and intangible to his ordinary means of perception. The connection and effect is immediate; it does not admit of intermediate links, or at least if it recognizes them it regards them as negligible. Primitive mentality is thus indifferent to secondary causes, and it is in this that we find the greatest difference between early human nature and our own. The savage mind is so absorbed by the occult and mystic first cause that what is to us the intermediate chain of causes disappears entirely from his vision. Thus, even today amongst primitives, if a crocodile devours a man, or he is killed by having eaten an unknown poisonous plant, the mind of the primitive leaps immediately to magic or witchcraft of a sorcerer as the true cause, and attaches no importance whatever to the crocodile or the poison.

¶ *Primitive men of genius*

Notwithstanding the above important difference in the primitive's outlook and our own, Lévy-Bruhl has given us a mass of evidence to show that the intellect of our early ancestor *can hardly have been inferior in capacity to our own*. It is certainly not to be viewed as a rudimentary form of ours, as infantile and almost pathological. If there is one way in which man differs from brute creation, it is in the marvelous powers of imagination which he possesses, even in his very primitive state. The peculiar quality of human imagination is its power, varying to an amazing extent amongst individuals, to visualize phenomena and their interconnections wholly within the mind. It was this imaginative activity of mind which produced the supreme

genius who discovered how to create fire; the genius who invented the wheel; the genius who saw the incalculable possibilities in cereal plants; the genius who first mounted a horse; the genius who first tamed a dog; and the genius who first domesticated the cow, the goat, and the sheep. It is this same quality of imagination—we see it in every age of recorded history—which accounts for all discoveries, inventions, and creations.

It was the same power of imagination that created a whole series of morbid and other illusions which persist to this very day. "The idea of unseen power in indefinable and intangible things was, as we shall see later, a tremendously weighty discovery both from the point of view of its subsequent importance for most modern religion and science." * Its earliest expression was of the simple and concrete character of the present-day West African fetish, to which the native ascribes a power to bring him luck, or of the floating tree trunk in the river, which by its mysterious appearances and disappearances still gives the Fijian hill tribes or the Ten'a Indians the impression of a mystical power. In modern times we have in the world many primitive tribes, but the spread of "civilized" ideas has in some way or other affected them, generally for the worse. A great link with the primitive past was severed in 1877, when the last member of the Tasmanian race died. The Tasmanians were in almost every sense of the word thoroughgoing primitives, and it is from a close observation of their life and habits that we are able to make many reasonable deductions regarding our ancestors.

† *Unknown origin of the "God" idea*

There is still some doubt in the minds of even the most confident students of religion and anthropology as to the origin of the "God" idea. We may speculate.

* Lévy-Bruhl.

that it began in the animistic tendency of primitive minds reading it into surrounding nature, as in the case of the crocodile or the tree trunk cited above. But that primitive man sat on his tail thinking hard for hour upon hour, after the manner of an Einstein, as to the origin of his existence, and then in a flash solved the mystery by attributing life to gods or a god (for the idea of *one universal God* is fairly modern) is an utterly absurd proposition. Primitive man in the early stages was so lacking in practical intelligence that he often failed during the summer to lay in a store for the wants of an inevitable winter. It is therefore most unlikely that he should have had the particular form of intellectual acumen necessary to evolve an idea of God very quickly, when he had scarcely got beyond eating carrion and bludgeoning any neighbor who interfered with his promiscuity.

Fear has been both the savior and, in a sense, the destroyer of human nature. We have seen that all life is based on selfishness and the will to live, but with this always goes the fear of pain or death. Fear is both an instinct and an emotion. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." If we substitute the word Unknown for Lord—although there is no real need for us moderns to do so—we find the wisdom which provides impetus to our natural craving for life. Fear is a necessary characteristic in the preservation of personality, as any actor on the stage will tell you. We are afraid to do this, that, or the other thing, lest those around us obtain a view of our lives, different from that which we wish to convey. It is a favorite ingredient in drama, and it is because of it that the religious spirit has persisted. Abolish fear, and you remove much of the driving force of many great actions. From my own personal experience, I am inclined to believe that nine-tenths of the courage so widely manifested in the Euro-

pean war was the result of fear. Men were afraid to be afraid. To create this fear of being afraid, a thousand and one tricks and devices were necessary, in the form of propaganda, social taboos, ignominy, and even the threat of execution. A man in the front-line trenches was presented with two alternatives. The first, to face the enemy with a sporting chance of survival, and perhaps of promotion or decoration for some act conspicuously useful to his side. The second, court-martial by a group of men armed with powers of life and death, and brutalized by the modern system of military training which, to be effective, must be as cruel as that of the jungle.

† *The importance of fear*

We shall meet with many types of fear. There is women's fear of mice or spiders, which, considering the bravery with which they face, for example, a heavy operation, is something inexplicable. Then there are physical and moral fears, as well as physical and moral bravery. Demosthenes, the Greek orator, who displayed supreme moral courage at a time of crisis in his city, was nevertheless so subject to physical fear that, when he fell against a bush in a military retreat, he is said to have groveled before it, asking it for mercy. It is perhaps during an earthquake or a shipwreck that human beings are most likely to show their courage or their fear. The truly moral man will not pillage during an earthquake, nor will he fight in a shipwreck, crushing beneath him women and children in an endeavor to find a seat in a lifeboat.

We hear from time to time, even nowadays, prophecies to the effect that the world will end on such and such a date. Some years ago there was a scare about this, and in various parts of the world, but particularly in the United States, there were thousands of people who went to church and prayed ardently in a

manner never before their custom that they might be saved from the catastrophe. Fear, after all, is merely one of the forms of selfishness which keep us alive. Fear and worry regarding his destiny are two of the chief causes for man's progressive theology. The worship of ghosts—figments of a terrified imagination—afterwards supplanted by the pagan deities, and then by the single God, are the stepping-stones of this progress.

¶ *The cause of music*

It has been found that one of the best ways to avoid fear and worry is by singing, and the use of music. These auxiliaries have been used, and are used by almost every religious system. The bagpipes of the Scottish Highlanders, used in the military exploits for which their history is renowned, are employed not only to drive away fear from those accustomed to such sounds, but to instil it into the hearts of their enemies. The opera, the musical comedy, and jazz are the contemporary antidotes and compensations for the fears and worries of a conscience-stricken civilization. Soldiers often sing most lustily when they are afraid. In England we have seen another example of this same musical principle, although the motive which caused it sprang from the desire of a newspaper to advertise itself. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of people were easily gathered together for the purpose of community song and hymn singing. For a time it banished their worries, just as the singing of that militant hymn "Onward, Christian Soldiers" will make anybody feel an inward urge to march heavenwards. On Empire Day, 1928, at least 150,000 persons gathered together in Hyde Park, London, and sang this hymn, with a fervored enthusiasm which is difficult to describe. The emotional effect was to convert them into a herd that could have been swayed in any direction by

a capable orator, chipping in at the right moment, as the keen psychologists of Christian teaching are wont to do during a religious service.

The reader may feel inclined to think that a comparison between ourselves and our primitive forefathers is disparaging to ourselves. If it makes you feel destitute of cherished virtues there is no need to be alarmed, for did you not possess them you would be inhuman. Learn now that by acquiring an insight into human nature, it will enable you to pursue the even tenor of your destiny with a compass in your hand. You will be able to adjust yourself to your environment, and this is of paramount importance if you are to succeed in life. If you can use those primitive emotions gracefully, in coordination with the intellectual powers which have so rapidly developed in mankind, you may possibly become a superman or superwoman.

¶ *Man's greatest discovery*

We may now consider a few of those momentous discoveries which have led to changes in human nature since the days of the primitives. Of these, the most important was certainly the discovery of fire. It is almost impossible for us to think of man without fire, but how he discovered it is still a complete mystery. A jungle or prairie conflagration which left behind it roast pork, or roast goose and baked roots, may have suggested the idea of cooking; and it may have been this which prompted men to take advantage of opportunities for nursing the spontaneous combustion of decaying vegetation, or the flames left behind in a shrub or tree struck by lightning. One can visualize a primitive housewife, jealously fanning a heap of such matter into flame. Indeed, it is not unlikely that fire was first so produced by a woman who employed it in a manner that showed man how useful it could be. He or she who first produced fire by mechanical means was not only the

supreme genius of antiquity, but the greatest benefactor of the human race. In all history no person was responsible for greater subsequent changes in human nature. The forest and the jungle with their dangerous diseases, their poisonous reptiles and insects, fierce beasts and destructive fowls, could be cleared by fire in little or no time. It is also possible that life itself was prolonged by the ability to cook food or preserve it for future use by drying or smoking. With fire it was possible for a man to smile at the vagaries of climate. Greatest factor of all, it caused our ancestors to develop the wandering spirit which has ever since existed. It was by wandering, by the culture of foreign travel, as it were, that man first set out on the quest which has never ended, and which is the chief cause of civilization, namely the quest for greater comforts in life. The use of fire is the dividing line which separates human from purely animal nature. Man is the only fire-making animal.

¶ *Fire and human nature*

It is a long way from the first discovery of fire to the steam-engine and steamboat of the nineteenth century. A greater distance in progress separates man without fire from the fire-maker. Gunpowder with the many gentle uses to which it has been put are an outcome of fire. There is still, I believe, or was until quite recently, a race which could not kindle fire, but knew how to preserve it; the Andamanese. Fire has played an immense part in both political and religious progress. In China, for instance, at the coronation of an emperor, the royal procession was permitted to move through the distance between palace and temple only during the burning of a joss-stick of prescribed length. In the simplest form of Christian worship from which all symbolism is eliminated the word fire is used figuratively, in allusion to ancient altars. From this poetic

allusion it is not difficult by means of symbolism, to trace the road back to fire-worship, when sacrifices were made to gods by burning humans on a fire. The anger of our own God was placated during the Inquisition by the incineration of hopelessly obstinate heretics. In the World War the palm for philosophic destruction must be given to the Germans for their ingenious invention of the *Flammenwerfer*, the Flame-Thrower, which could project a jet of blazing oil to a distance of about three hundred yards. I have a horrible recollection of a soldier friend who was hosed, as it were, with burning oil and left only with sufficient tissue to constitute life. Fire is certainly a very wonderful thing.

The face of the earth was altered by fire, and in that struggle between man and animal which was largely responsible for the formation of human nature, and of which we shall hear more later, it played a foremost part. Fire was responsible for pottery, the beginning of the first plastic art. But most of all it was used as a weapon to subdue nature: to burn down forests, to make new pasture land, to harden the points of weapons used in attacking the mammoth or the mastodon; for the manufacture of flaming arrows or of fiery javelins to be hurled against the foe; in the preparation of vegetable poison, which in itself was a great advance in the art of warfare.

¶ *Effect of externals*

Fire-producing man, confident in his new powers, wandered over the face of the globe. In Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, he discovered a spot where flourished a plant that could be made into a convenient and palatable food. He noticed that where the ears of this plant fell at the end of a season, a fresh crop would appear. By planting ears of wheat he learned to provide himself with as much as he required,

and this wheat could be made into a nourishing food. From Mesopotamia restless wanderers in their quest for favorable climates and comfortable territories in which to live carried with them ears of wheat to the valleys of the great rivers, the Nile, the Ganges, the Yangtze-Kiang, the Hwang-Ho, across the steppes of Siberia, and round the edges of the Black Sea. The discovery of corn and rye followed; these two plants were found to flourish in climates unfavorable to wheat, and thus the range of man's wanderings and possibilities was further extended. Bread, milling, elaborate pottery, and many of the commonplaces of life may be attributed to the use of fire with which is coupled the utilization of the cereals. The first man to use fire gained immense prestige, and he who first made use of a cereal could have gained no less. They became magicians, forerunners of kings, priests, and doctors; and, like them, the terror of the countryside. Families or clans began to be formed, grouping themselves around those with the mystic knowledge of fire and cereal. To fire and wheat may be attributed the responsibility for turning man from utter savagery. A few isolated groups of human beings, mellowed by the benevolence of warmth and bread, aided by the natural configuration of the country in which they settled, and the favorable climatic conditions, became the torch-bearers of civilization and culture. That is an example of the effect of externals upon human nature.

§ 3. EARLY BREAD-EATING AND MODERN CANNIBALISM

MEN congregate where food is easy to obtain. The fact that in Mesopotamia a nourishing food-stuff could be obtained without great exertion was attractive to nomadic tribes that had hitherto moved

from one pasture area to another in accordance with the seasons of the year. Here many of the more intelligent and perhaps more lazy wanderers found that they could live without further wandering. So comfortable a prospect influenced them to settle, just as within the last two hundred years European settlers in the United States fell upon and developed those areas which offered the quickest and most promising returns. In the course of time, as man was cultivating the wild wheat between Tigris and Euphrates, those tribes that continued to wander or were unable to impose their will on the inhabitants thereabouts brought the grains of wheat to the East. At least ten thousand years ago it became the staff of life of the hundreds of races living between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Henceforward, man needed no longer to spend all his time hunting for the wherewithal of existence. He need travel no more unless he desired to do so for pleasure or for profit. He could work quietly during seed-time and harvest and settle down to a life of comparative laziness during one half of the year. This ability to be lazy was the beginning of contemplative thought and the origin of all philosophy, just as restlessness and hustle kill thought. Only a man of leisure can think, is the rule of life; there are exceptions, but they are few and unimportant. This ability to be lazy was also the beginning of real vice, for the hunter had little time for genuine evil.

For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.

—an old tag with some truth in it. The wealth of those peoples who had found the value of wheat was not without causing envy and jealousy among less fortunate people. And hence there were raids for plunder, which

were the primitive beginnings of warfare. War is still made for plunder, but not in the form of wheat. It is now made for markets and the ability to collect tokens whereby comforts and luxuries may be purchased, as financiers will perhaps tell you. The fact that wheat was so valuable and so convenient a form of sustenance, and enabled men to have leisure, also influenced the development of art, which had begun with the making of weapons, tools, and household utensils. Given a fair amount of leisure almost any race of human beings will produce works of art, either in the form of pottery or painting or sculpture. Remove the opportunity provided by leisure, both art and philosophy vanish. Bearing this in mind one can check active periods of history and indicate those of peace and prosperity; unless prosperity has become a sole mass ideal, as for instance in the United States today, where art is crude and vigorous, but without esthetic appeal to those not born in the atmosphere.

¶ *Origin of Diplomacy*

Although a form of unleavened bread had long existed in Mesopotamia, a Chinese gentleman named Ching-Nung is reputed to have been the first person who taught the making of bread as we understand it nowadays; but he made a far more profound discovery, the story goes. In that memorable year 1998 B.C. he learned to make wine from rice, a discovery of which the effects may still be seen in any bar in England, or in any speakeasy in the United States. It was probably as a result of bread- and wine-making that dumb barter arose. Those settlements of men which had the ability to make bread and wine found themselves favorably situated in regard to their ignorant neighbors. The latter coveted the bread and wine and were willing to exchange their meat, milk, fish, or wool for the valuable life-giving products. But men were even then

suspicious of one another, and the system of credit (or of credit tokens, which we call money) had not yet been invented. The method of exchange was somewhat as follows: The tribe with bread would deposit a pile of loaves at a given spot between their territory and that of their neighbors. These would come, take the bread, and deposit what they were prepared to give in exchange for it, a matter no doubt settled by the exchange of plenipotentiaries, forerunners of modern diplomats. Thus trade began, and it was trade more than anything else, with the possible exception of war, which caused the intercommunication of races, leading to a mixing of blood and leaving most of the earth with a population of mongrels.

At this stage man had become a comparatively tame animal. In the thousands of years which intervened between utter savagery and the state of tameness outlined above, he had passed, as we have seen, through two phases, both of which profoundly altered his nature. At first he was a hunted animal. On all sides we see him surrounded by fearsome beasts, which were ready to devour him without a moment's notice. He therefore developed all the characteristics of the hunted animal, including the bravery which a rat shows when it is cornered. He became mean and cunning, quarrelsome and fierce. From day to day his energy and ingenuity were devoted to schemes for avoiding his relentless enemies of the animal world. It was a phase of continual warfare in which the animal world yielded step by step, not so much to the physical strength of man as to the increasing cunning of his mind. Man was at first a slayer. He killed animals mostly in self-protection, and was thus provided with a surfeit of fresh meat. There are men of science today who affirm that primitive man was a vegetarian, but this seems extremely unlikely in view of the fact that in order to live he must fight and

exterminate many animals which would provide him with succulent and nourishing food. As already explained, it was fire which first gave man real power in this world; and it was by fire that he was able to turn to his advantage the fierce primeval fight in the jungles of antiquity.

¶ *Profound influence of animals*

In his contact with the animal kingdom the primitive developed militancy and industrialism, both of which have survived and become intensified to the present age. He had to invent missiles that would fly faster than the object of their pursuit; he had to create apparatus for digging and burrowing, and to devise engines that would strike harder than the lion's paw, and cut deeper than the tiger's fang. The genius of early man was engaged in adding speed to his hand and momentum to his blows. Little by little he won this great battle. We may assume that it was the dog which first raised a flag of truce, and came over into the camp of his pristine enemy. One by one other animals of small will-power followed the dog: the sheep, the goat and the cow; and then, perhaps best of all, the horse. Wearied of man's deadly weapons, his decoys and snares and pitfalls, the ass, the elephant and less important animals surrendered. They were to lend their patient backs and necks, their milk, their hides, their very bones, to minister to men's wants. Now the pork-packers of Chicago will tell you that they can use every part of the domestic pig except its squeal.

Those animals which refuse to enter into an alliance with man are everywhere doomed to extinction. How ruthlessly has the war against the animal world been conducted by successive generations of men may be gathered from the fact that some animals which were once very numerous are now rare. Hundreds of others have entirely disappeared from the face of the globe.

At the present moment millions of dumb creatures are every year sentenced to death because women must wear furs. It is no longer a case of sheer necessity, as it was in the days of the primitive. Now it is fashion that is responsible for the continued slaughter. Man still uses animals for his amusement and often kills them for his pleasure, as you may see almost any day at a bull-fight in Spain. It is true that by a magnanimous gesture of the government (following a fifty years' campaign by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) there has been a reduction in a few of the savageries associated with bull-fights. No longer may men stick fire-darts in the hides of these animals to incite them to movements of greater spirit; no longer may horses be publicly gored to death, and the entrails shown to a cheering populace, as they were two or three years ago. Humanitarianism has scored many notable victories, of which this is one. It is a sign of decadence, no doubt.

† *Did animals learn ferocity from man?*

Naturalists state that in their wild state, and untouched by contact with man, most animals are harmless; Hudson declares that even the fierce puma will never attack except in self-defense. Comstock asserts that venomous reptiles, alligators, bears, skunks, and other fearful creatures are quite harmless until man comes into contact with them. The question now to be decided, not by scientists but by philosophers, is this: did man get his ferocity from animals, or did they get theirs from him?

It is doubtful if any animal has changed human nature by aiding the progress of man, in his long journey from savagery to civilization, more than the horse. This animal was first domesticated in Central or Southern Asia, and no race has utilized it more than the Arabs. The religion of Mohammed depended almost entirely

upon the horse for its wide-spread success. We shall see later how Mohammedanism affected human nature, but meanwhile let us not forget that the horse was responsible for it. In Arabia, as Winwood Reade has pointed out, the Arab horse lived in his master's tent, sucked from his calabash, and slept with the family. He played with the children, showing that gentleness of nature immortalized by Dean Swift; and when the time came snorted and panted excitedly and sympathetically in the war-charge. To the horse also may be attributed much of the success of Cortez in his conquest of Mexico. The mail-clad chargers of the Spaniards struck terror into the hearts of the native Aztecs and Toltecs, who thought that horse and man were one animal. It is as a result of contact with horses that man has developed many of his finer feelings, and in modern times he repays this animal by using it as a beast of burden or as a means toward his amusement in the hunting field or on the race-course; also to carry shells and ammunition with which to blow to pieces other horses and men in warfare.

Can we doubt that the food on which they lived influenced our ancestors? Modern science informs us that stature depends very largely on diet, but does a man's nature depend upon his diet, and, if so, how much? The influence of nourishment upon the development of racial characteristics has been shown recently in a series of experiments by Japanese scientists in Tokio. To determine whether the slight stature of the Japanese depends upon their rice diet, the regular rice dinner of a group of school children was supplemented by other articles of food, such as are customary amongst taller races. The results of these experiments, which were extended over a period of years, were an increase of several inches in stature, and several pounds in weight. An English military physician has confirmed this by

experiments with Indian races of varying stature. Sikhs and Pathans are bigger men than the Indians who use other diets; Mohammedan Sikhs consume milk, cheese, and vegetables, which the Brahmans do not.

¶ *Ford on food*

Mr. Henry Ford stated not long ago that most active crimes are the results of wrong feeding. "If people," said he, "would only learn to eat the things they should eat, there would be less need for hospitals and prisons." There is little doubt but that food has an influence upon character: nobody but a confirmed vegetarian could have written George Bernard Shaw's plays. The good Rabelais had a philosophy of life which was "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The coarse, sensual, and self-indulgent person will gorge himself with rich and toothsome food. Most men who have grown fat *through overeating* are lacking in healthy decision. How good a psychologist was Shakespeare when he made Cæsar say, "*Let me have men about me that are fat*"—such men being more easily bent to a stronger will? It is also well known that stout men are good-tempered, but it may be that they are too timid, or too lethargic to quarrel or disagree with anyone.

Is there any doubt but that meat-eating has a marked effect on character? What it comes to is this, that meat provides energy in a concentrated form and the man who eats meat ought to have much physical exercise if he is to benefit from it. If he has not this exercise he grows bad-tempered and irritable, and may make himself a nuisance to those around him. Many thinkers dating back to Buddha and Pythagoras have advocated the simple, almost fasting diet for the contemplative existence; meat is to be eschewed. But the English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, was a believer in the meat diet. Somebody informed him that his thought would reach greater heights were he to become a vegetarian.

An ambitious man—all philosophers are amazingly ambitious—he changed his habits and began to limit himself to vegetable foods. However, his work immediately began to deteriorate, and it was not long before he was back again on beef, mutton, and pork, on which he wrote the “Synthetic Philosophy,” as one can easily tell by perusing it.

We are not at all sure whether those exceptional men whom we call giants can attribute their great size to diet. In the Bible we read that the bedstead of Og, king of Bashan, was about sixteen and one-half feet long; he lived 1451 B.C. We all of us remember Goliath of Gath, who was not far off ten feet in height. We know nothing of his diet, but there is a good story of how he was meanly killed in a duel by David. Pliny tells us, “The tallest man that hath been seen in our age was one named Gabara, who in the days of Claudius was brought out of Arabia; he was nearly ten feet high.” The biggest man in the twentieth century was Machnow, the Russian, who, at the age of twenty-three years was nine feet eight inches, and weighed thirty-two stones. Carnera, the Italian boxer, is six feet nine inches, and to judge from press reports is wonderfully healthy on beef, beans, and beer.

¶ *The elixir of life*

The question of man’s diet is one of great interest from many points of view. The world is now worried to death to know whether it has any influence upon cancer, that dreadful scourge which, amongst civilized people, is responsible for one out of every eight deaths. No light can be thrown on this. An order of Roman Catholic monks whose diet was of the simplest, and who lived on very little in the way of meat, are found to be equally susceptible to cancer with those who live a hale, hearty and, indeed, more healthy existence. And then we read of Mr. Willie Walker, England’s oldest

citizen, who has happily celebrated his one hundred and seventh birthday. Willie worked as a brick-layer up to the age of eighty-four. Diet specialists, and others interested in longevity, inquired of Mr. Walker how it was that he came to live so long, and to this Mr. Walker replied, "I live on pork, plum-pudding, and whisky." His slogan is, "*Eat pork and live long!*" Willie is a bit of a philosopher. "I have heard," said he, "that a monkey gland makes people young, but why be monkeyed when there is plenty of pork, and there are more pigs than monkeys." Packers, please note.

We all know the phrase, "One man's meat is another's poison." Some people are poisoned by eggs, others cannot eat fish. There are few people who can safely eat the general run of foodstuffs, and there are few who are not influenced in some way by a meal. When Mr. Lloyd George was prime minister of England, he scored many notable political triumphs and settled many disputes at his breakfast table, to which he regularly invited friends or opponents. A keen judge of human nature, he must have realized that one of two things would happen: either (a) his friends or opponents would be liverish and dull-witted in the morning, or (b) they would be merry and bright. If they were the first, he could corner them easily; if they were the second, he could take advantage of their good temper. He nearly always won his points in those days. Wells and others have pointed out that the eating and drinking bouts of our ancestors produced bards and entertainers; the forerunners of Shakespeare, Chaplin, Chaliapin, Grock, and Tallulah Bankhead. Ten thousand years ago the tribal nights' entertainment was dinner, theater, and dance, culminating in the satisfaction of the sexual appetite, on practically the same lines as now in London, New York, Paris, or Buenos Aires; and among the semi-savage tribes of Mandingoes or

Bantus. The eating of meat and the drinking of strong drink exhilarate the enjoyment of such amusements, just as they often prompt men to action or stifle clear thinking.

¶ *All men cannibals when necessary*

There is scarcely anything that men have not eaten at different periods and among different races in the earth's history. There have been root-eaters, twig-eaters, and seed-eaters. There have been and are locust-eaters, elephant-eaters, and cannibals. Indeed, there are still a few places in which cannibalism still exists; in Africa and Polynesia. In periods of great necessity cannibalism may become a fairly widespread practice among highly civilized races, as in China during the year 1928. One must not forget that the Chinese must be considered, even today, a highly civilized people. In the famine-stricken provinces of Northwest China very many instances of cannibalism were found among the twenty million people who were reduced by famine to the level of brute beasts; a striking example of how close civilized people, who have lived through a period of three thousand years of good philosophy, can be to the animal. The following examples, taken from the report of the Reverend G. Findlay Andrew of the China Inland Mission, speak for themselves:

"In the famine area," says Mr. Andrew, "all along the road we were met by increasingly sad sights. Emaciated forms staggered along till they were unable to move another step, whereupon they simply dropped in their tracks. Parents were crawling along the great highway, leaving their starving children, too weak to move another step, crying piteously after them. Whole families were sitting desolately by the roadside at an end of all their resources, and not knowing what to do next. . . . Some forty li or so distant from the city of Chingking lies the market of Shuilohcheng, and it was

reported that about the beginning of March some thirty-five brigands had been killed in the place and the flesh had been eaten by the starving populace. I found that this story was commonly accepted in Chingking, and I was furnished by one of the leading gentry with his card and full permission to use his name as one who had witnessed the killing of the brigands, the cutting off of their flesh, and the eating of it. Another man willing to witness to the truth of the report is in the employ of the mission station. He had just returned from Shuilohcheng, where he had seen some of the bodies lying with the flesh cut off from certain parts. Indeed, throughout this whole section of the journey these stories of cannibalism were commonly accepted and caused no surprise." *

The question often arises whether civilization is responsible for such savagery in mankind. The answer is that it is not; the tiger in man has existed from the time when he was a hunted animal and it requires only such circumstances as those mentioned above to show it in the broad light of day.

¶ *Sex and salesmanship*

Other factors have had their influence on human nature: clothes and fashion, for example. We may assume that early man ran about naked, and that the first clothes were for the simple purpose of protection against the weather, and were not adopted through any false modesty. Indeed, in some parts of the world today the only clothing used is an ointment or sweet-smelling balsam of vegetable origin. Cleanliness is a virtue even amongst the lower animals, so we need not pride ourselves for its existence amongst mankind. It is an equivalent to decoration. But the vagaries of clothing and fashion would require an encyclopedia to describe. In woman they are primarily the outcome of a desire

* *Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1928.

to startle and attract males, or to cause anger and jealousy amongst other females. No woman, except a sexual pervert, wishes to attract other women. Rouge and lipstick, powder, corsets, and perfumes, high heels and silk stockings, colorful dresses, beads and jewelry, furs and feathers, are for a very admirable biological purpose: to attract the attention of the opposite sex. They are the equivalent of the nose-rings, nose-sticks, tattooing, and face-paint of the ladies of Melanesia. Fashion has grown into a trade conspiracy to sell goods. In Europe, when the short skirts became fashionable after the war, thousands of workers in the cloth factories were thrown out of work, and employers racked their brains for some means of inducing women to cover their knees. New fashions resulted. They were aided in the economic revolt against the short skirt and the low neck by the highest authorities of certain religions; the pope himself was backed by Signor Mussolini in an endeavor to persuade women to observe decorum. The church started a "Wear more clothes" campaign, while the cloth manufacturers tried the slogan, "Cover your knees," and put it out that a woman's knees were not a pretty sight. As I write evening dresses grow longer.

But the battle is not yet over. We read that during the summer of 1929 in the Midlands of England and in the Peak district the women on Sundays discarded their womanly garb for their week-end rambles. Villagers were shocked. The ordinary outfit worn on these occasions consisted of a man's cricket shirt, open neck, shorts, golf stockings, and a pair of heavy shoes; all apparently very sensible. "Positively revolting," was the clerical description of this covering. It is in the realm of woman's fashions that there are most vagaries in the twentieth century; but it was not always so; and even today we are informed by the experts of the Na-

tional Association of Merchant Tailors in the United States that the well-dressed man should have at least twenty suits, eight overcoats, twelve hats, twenty-four pairs of shoes; with other things in proportion. I have before me an appeal to the innate conceit of man in an advertisement which appeared in 1929 in the *Petit Parisien*. It is for a corset for men, "recommended to all, and particularly to those who are beginning to take on stomach, as well as to sportsmen, motorists, etc. It combats obesity, floating kidney, abdominal greatness, assures a straight back, and an elegant carriage, combined with absolute comfort."

† *Influence of the razor*

The habit of shaving the face is one which has had a profound influence upon human nature. Three thousand years ago, the razor was a fairly common toilet requisite for men of the upper classes. Among primitives, who were naturally hairy, he who could remove the fungus from his face became more awe-inspiring to his neighbors. Hence it was that priests, kings, governors, judges, and generals decided they had better shave in order to add to their influence over their more weak-minded fellow creatures. Personal conceit was the motive of the desire to be clean-shaven, for most of these men believed that their faces were far more noble than those of the commonalty. Alexander the Great is shown to us as a clean-shaven man, and it is stated that he set a fashion for the smooth visage. Hair was, and is, the symbol of virility; but the smooth face was, and is, the symbol of eternal youth. Whiskers and mustaches are compromises. The goatee beard signifies strength of character, or even pugnacity, as in the modern symbolical case of Captain Kettle. The clean-shaven face now tends to be a minor symbol of civilization, except among Frenchmen, artists, Chinese pirates, and naughty fellows in Russia and in other free countries

where men flout their independence of the conventional ideas.

¶ *The imitative instinct*

We know very well that animals imitate one another, and with monkeys this propensity is almost a mania. It is strongly inherited by all men, with whom it is an instinct which has by no means weakened with the passage of time. "Fashion" takes advantage of this imitative instinct, which is one of the strongest of human qualities. It is by virtue of imitation that men have become educated; it is by virtue of it that the landscape of the civilized world is changing into a dull uniformity. In the suburbs of London you may walk along almost any of the more prosperous roads, and you will see houses built to the same pattern, flower gardens laid out in almost the same way, window curtains of the same material, and in the same scheme of colors; you will see standing in the road motorcars of a few standard makes; you will see the mistress of the house possessed of whatever kind of dog happens at the moment to be fashionable, and she will wear a frock or a costume which is almost a uniform. Suddenly the builders, the landscape gardeners, the cloth manufacturers, the makers of motorcars, or the dog breeders will decide that a change would be good for business. They know perfectly well that they may safely rely upon the imitative qualities of the crowds of quasi-monkeys to buy just what is put on the market. It is the desire to cater to this continual necessity for change that is responsible for the creative spirit of the modern fashion artist. That fine-sounding phrase "God made all men equal," is as yet in the prophetic stage, for there still remain the few who wish to differ from their fellow creatures. But they steadily capitulate to standardization. Furthermore, it is the inward feeling of natural inequality which often drives men to imitate

their fellows outwardly, in order that they may feel that they are equals. This explains what is meant by "dressing up to a social position," and why it is that, when you meet an overdressed man, you may expect to find an underdressed mind.

He who will not imitate has always been considered to be antisocial. Progress is the movement of crowds. In order to keep up with the crowd men frequently become complete hypocrites. The man who is born with what we must call for want of a better phrase "antisocial propensities," is forced to assume the personification of righteousness. Those who are cruel will affect kindly and philanthropic acts. The murderer is often outwardly, and often quite sincerely, fond of his pets. Those who assume too strong an attitude in favor of the orthodox are suspect, and those who are too outwardly good are generally inwardly bad. It is the outward assumption of goodness, and the careful study of its outward technique which enables so many rogues to succeed in life.

This illustrates the genuine necessity there is for hypocrisy, and gives as well an indication of the origin of manners.

¶ *Women prefer rogues*

The success which rogues and vagabonds have with women is not difficult to explain. They do not possess that laudable lack of hypocrisy so noticeable in the honest man; and they make a point of demonstrating to women those sentiments which women generally fail to appreciate unless they be demonstrated. One of the chief differences between the natures of men and women is that, whereas men generally dislike to show their feelings, women like doing so. Hence the man who can dissimulate skilfully easily persuades a woman of his affection, even when it does not exist. This is

greatly appreciated by the woman; for women gladly suffer illusions, persuading themselves that they are not illusions, where love is concerned. If it were not so, the human species would long ago have become extinct. The man who praises a woman for those qualities which she does not possess, rather than for those which she actually does possess, is a wise man; he who omits to emphasize the intelligence of a pretty nincompoop, or the physical beauty of a blue-stocking, is lacking in the most elementary knowledge of woman's nature, if it is his desire to cause pleasure.

¶ *Origin of manners*

It may appear from what has been written that it is desirable to encourage hypocrisy; and this is so. Hypocrisy is often merely an unpleasant name for good breeding. In order to be polite one must be a hypocrite. Politeness originates from those remote times when men had not learned dissimulation, but were beginning to learn it through mortal combats with neighbors for having spoken the truth. To illustrate what I mean, the following imaginary conversation between two apemen is submitted for the consideration of the reader:

FIRST APE-MAN (meeting a neighbor casually and waving his club merrily in the air). Hello, I haven't seen you for some days. How are you?

SECOND APE-MAN (growling). Very well. I have been out fishing this last week.

FIRST APE-MAN (looking narrowly at the other). Really? Any luck?

SECOND APE-MAN. I caught two hundred trout, one of which weighed as much as a full-grown bear.

FIRST APE-MAN. You dirty, pig-faced liar! How dare you have such a low estimate of my intelligence as to stand there brazenly and tell such a deliberately calculated falsehood? (Indignantly spitting, cat-fashion.)

SECOND APE-MAN (stepping smartly forward and bringing his club down accurately on the cranium of First Ape-man). Take that, you unmannerly brute! (Drags off the body and buries it.)

And now consider the following conversation which takes place fairly frequently, between, say, a couple of English or American clubmen:

FIRST CLUBMAN. Hello, Brown, how are you? How well you're looking! Been having a holiday?

SECOND CLUBMAN. Yes. Went fishing with the wife.

FIRST CLUBMAN. With the wife! Really? What sort of sport did you have?

SECOND CLUBMAN. Excellent. Caught no end of fish. (Tells a long and involved yarn, ending) . . . and when we came to weigh the fish, mine was two hundred and seventy-seven pounds, four ounces and a quarter!

FIRST CLUBMAN (raising his eyebrows slightly). That was splendid. Well, we shall have to have a drink on the strength of such a wonderful achievement. I envy you. What will you have? Waiter, bring two whiskies and soda. (They drink to each other's health.)

The politeness in the second conversation is, of course, pure hypocrisy. But we do not think of it as such. The first clubman probably thinks of his friend in almost the same terms as the first ape-man thought of his. But the number of fights that have taken place in the period of time between the two have taught the modern man that a little dissimulation or hypocrisy makes life more comfortable. In such circumstances as those quoted above, an archbishop will be even more polite than an ordinary man, because of his greater culture and in spite of the calls, if any, of honesty. The strictly honest man, if one could exist at all nowadays, would inevitably spend the greater part of his life behind the wall either of a prison or of a lunatic asylum.

§ 4. MANNERS, MOBS, AND WAR

IT is a matter of dispute whether the manners in the twentieth century are better than those which have existed at the peak points of past civilizations. The old instinct of self-preservation often provokes a man or a woman to fight for a seat in a train, omnibus, or street car; and we are told that to do so is ill-mannered. Barrie tells a story of the manners observed at social functions in Scotland. It is customary there in many families to say grace before meals, and it is often a problem for the hostess to decide who is to say grace. If two or three clergymen are present the problem becomes acute. Which one shall have the honor of saying grace? There must be good reasons for the choice, or the feelings of the others would be lacerated. Barrie has heard a hostess decide the question offhand, by asking in this manner: "Mr. So-and-So, will you please say grace, as you are nearest the door?"

† *Manners continually change*

Our manners have greatly improved in the course of time, and the temper of man in ordinary circumstances nowadays would appear to be better than that of his ancestors. A good example of this may be found in the behavior of audiences at theaters in England where there has been, unhappily for the drama, a decided decay in the old custom of booing. In Shakespeare's time, and even in the eighteenth century, a theater was sometimes almost wrecked by a disappointed audience. In the "Memoirs of Casanova" will be found an example of what this gentleman saw at Drury Lane. "We went," says he, "to Drury Lane Theatre, where I had a specimen of the rough insular manners. By some accident or other the company could not give the piece that had been announced, and the audience were in a tumult.

Garrick, the celebrated actor, came forward and tried in vain to restore order. He was obliged to retire behind the curtain. Then the king and the queen, and all the fashionables left the theater, and in less than an hour the house was gutted, till nothing but the bare walls were left. In a fortnight the theater was refitted and the piece announced again, but when Garrick appeared before the curtain to implore the indulgence of the house a voice from the pit shouted: 'On your knees!' A thousand voices took up the cry, and the English Roscius was obliged to kneel down and beg forgiveness. Then came a thunder of applause, and all was over. Such are the English, and, above all, the Londoners."

That was in 1759.

Even fifty years later, when Lamb frequented the theater the hissing and booing had degenerated, as had also the drama itself. It is extremely rare nowadays in England for an audience to hiss and boo a production, and this notwithstanding the fact that the average play is worse than it has been for a long time. If a play is bad, or unacceptable, nobody goes to it; in the great age of the drama in England everybody went to the play, and everybody execrated the authors and actors if it was bad. This salutary influence having disappeared, the public must bear with whatever is given to them; or keep away. *It is in superficialities such as this that human nature shows its greatest changes.*

The imitative instinct which, as we have shown, was responsible for the beginnings of standardized thought, is also responsible for the mob mind. Crowd impulse and that inherent tendency to act in herds or packs has always been so wide-spread in its expression that it may be regarded as a commonplace of human nature. Trotter, dealing with this undoubted instinct amongst animals, says: "It can scarcely be regarded as an unmean-

ing accident that the dog, the horse, the ape, the elephant, and man are all social animals. The advantages of gregariousness seem actually to outweigh the most prodigious differences of structure, and we find a condition which is often thought of as a mere habit, capable of enabling the insect nervous system to compete in the complexity of its power of adaptation with that of the higher vertebrates." Manifestations of the crowd, or herd instinct, are shown in the dislike of the normal man of being conspicuous; and this is also obvious in shyness and in stage fright. From this suggestion of sensitiveness it follows that anything which associates the suggestion of leaving the herd will tend to its rejection. An imperious command from an individual known to be without authority is disregarded; whereas the same person making the same suggestion in an indirect way, so as to link it up with the voice of the herd, will meet with success.

The French psychologist Le Bon shows that a crowd is not only a gathering of people but *a state of mind* representing a mental unity. In the history of human nature it is a cruel fact that *the quality of this state of mind has always gravitated toward the level of the lowest intelligence and the lowest morality of the individual unit*. The reason for this is the prevalence of the primitive feeling among men, in which any higher rational expression or intellectual protest is completely and utterly lost. The crowd revolts against the teachings of those philosophers who emphasize the importance of self-analysis, and therefore disintegrate the tendency to a mass mind. The crowd insists on compliance with those principles which are nearest to the primitive feelings of individual man, and it will tear to pieces without compunction any spirit which digresses from this fundamental law. Scarcely one of those great thinkers in the whole of human history was

popular in his own time. Many of them were executed for their teachings; Socrates and Jesus Christ being the outstanding examples. It is only after their death that society renders homage, which is scarcely ever sincere, to men of the caliber of Goethe, Swift, Plato, Hobbes, Hume, and a host of others.

¶ *Madness of mob mind*

If we consider with the herd instinct the reaction to authority, we have the ingredients for those widespread hysterias which have shaken the world from time to time. When war has progressed from the very early stage in which combats were between mere individuals, families, or small clans, and become an affair of nations, empires or, in its recent phase, whole groups of nations on each side, we see the practical uses made by leaders of the fundamental characteristics of human nature which have been outlined in the preceding pages. I would refer the reader to two great works of fiction, which admirably illustrate my meaning: "All Quiet on the Western Front" and "The Case of Sergeant Grischa." The German psychologist Freud has pointed out in his own quiet but ruthlessly logical manner that it is not that masses of people sink very low in time of war, but that they are never in peace times so high as they generally believe. In times of war the whole veneer of civilization is removed, and we see before us that ghastly spectacle which was so vividly portrayed over the face of the world between 1914 and 1918. It is useless to argue against this. There was more sheer brutality in one day on the western front, practiced by the highest types of modern man, than can be found among the most savage peoples of the jungle, or ever existed in the early days of human history, when, we are optimistically informed, man was merely an ape. I would ask this question of zoologists: Are they acquainted with *any* animal that is capable of those

savageries which have been so vividly described to us by many soldiers of different nationalities, and of which I may have occasion to give a few examples later, when we deal more explicitly with the World War? Nor was the brutality merely confined to combatant soldiers on both sides, men in the grip of a vast machine and driven by fate, as it were, to commit brutal slaughter. From the pulpits of the Christian churches there were preached sermons in which piety and sheer vindictiveness were blended in a diabolical mixture. The most humane and reasonable men were affected by it. Those who, in their hearts, revolted against the whole business, had to keep their mouths shut, or they were flung into prison, beaten, and tortured, not with the more humane physical tortures of the Chinese devil-men, but with the far more cruel mental tortures of modern civilization.

¶ *The glory of war*

The passions released by war may permeate every stitch of the modern social fabric. Reason is thrown overboard, and emotionalism rules the day. In the newspapers, on the stage, in the music-halls, in the schools, in the pulpits, in the homes of the people, the stupid sentimentalism of glory is paraded on every possible occasion. No lie is too great in time of war; and no measure is too savage. It is a quaint fact of human nature that those who are most tame in times of peace, and who then behave in the most exemplary manner, are the most likely to throw all restraint to the winds when mob emotionalism becomes epidemic. Even the women, from staid mothers of families to modest country maidens, succumbed to the general destruction of the moral code. I have stood on the platform of Waterloo Station in London as one of a draft of infantrymen proceeding to the front, and I have seen the mildest of women, sometimes with babies in their arms, kiss their

men good-by and say, "Give the Germans one for me." The phrase, "Gott strafe England," became a catch-word in Germany; and an ingenious author wrote a "Hymn of Hate" which was sung in church and school in the central empires. We are told that he lived to feel ashamed of his patriotic poem. The war was waged even against inanimate things; we were forbidden to speak the enemy language, to read its books of philosophy, or to eat foods emanating from the culinary art of the opposing forces. By burying our heads in the sand, we hoped to see less of the danger; by making a loud noise and clamor we drowned reason; and by martial music and propaganda of hate we stimulated our nervous systems for the fight. All this was natural and necessary.

The world now talks of "the revolt against war." *There has always been a revolt against war.* There is a revolt against war in the Bible, and in Greek literature we find the same revolt. Jonathan Swift raged against the insanity of war in the eighteenth century. There have been very few writers in the whole of literature who were really in favor of war, and the greatest that the world has seen have all revolted against war, with the exception of that very honest man Mohammed, who was perhaps the best judge of human nature amongst them. There appears to be, deep down in human nature, an instinct for war. For periods varying in length it is covered over, and we occupy ourselves with the routine of peace. The caldron of humanity simmers steadily for a while, and then it boils over—a result of some cosmic influence of which we have no knowledge whatever. As I write, the public on both sides of the Atlantic are being regaled with war book after war book, in which the loathsome horrors of it all are depicted with the greatest power available to the authors. Those who were in the war receive few thrills

from these stories. But to the men who had no experience of it, the generation that has grown up since 1918, they are an inspiration; and show merely the possibilities of a great and thrilling adventure. Every war film that is shown, although it may have been directed against war, merely stimulates this deep-rooted instinct of male spectators for similar adventure.

¶ *Great benefits of war*

And yet war has been responsible for much real progress, and it has been responsible for many a change in human nature. As Winwood Reade says rightly: "By means of *War* the animated life was slowly raised upward in the scale, and quadrupeds passed into man. By means of War the human intelligence was brightened, and the affections were made intense; weapons and tools were invented; foreign wives were captured, and the marriages of blood relations were forbidden; prisoners were tamed, and the women set free; prisoners were exchanged, accompanied with presents; thus commerce was established, and thus, by means of War, men were first brought into amicable relations with one another. By War the tribes were dispersed all over the world, and adopted various pursuits according to the conditions by which they were surrounded. By War the tribes were compressed into the nation." *

If we compare the present with the past, and trace events to their causes, we shall find that we have reached our present stage not by a series of immutable laws, but rather by provisional expedients, and that the principle which in one age effected the advancement of a nation, in the next age may retard the forward movement or even destroy it altogether. Even despotism and slavery have been responsible for many improvements in human nature. The history of the greatest successes in history is not a record of the triumph of

* *The Martyrdom of Man.*

great minds, but it is for the most part a chronicle of political chicanery, debauchery, and cynical exploitation, in which large masses of men have been moved to commit and submit to unutterable stupidities by leaders with a good knowledge of the herd instinct.

¶ *Quantity and quality of brains*

Although there has been a great increase in knowledge, there has been practically no change in human capacity, from that far-off day in which the first genius found a method of producing fire. Past generations have handed down knowledge to us, and each generation may or may not add to the wealth of knowledge already available. There is a fair amount of evidence to show that much useful knowledge has been entirely lost at various times in our history. The destruction by Theophilus of the great library at Alexandria in 389 A.D. meant the disappearance of we know not how many advances in the province of intellect. From the excavations of the anthropologists we know that the brain capacity of primitive man was as great as our own. The Cro-Magnons of perhaps fifty thousand years ago had brains which were slightly greater in weight than our own, the average weight of the male brain today being about forty-eight ounces. The heaviest known human brain belonged, as might be expected, to an Englishman. He was a bricklayer who died of tuberculosis in 1849; his brain exceeded sixty-seven ounces and was well proportioned.

As regards the purely intellectual side of man's nature, the foremost authorities maintain that *no* modern race of men is the intellectual equal of the Greeks of twenty-five hundred years ago.

Galton has drawn our attention to the fact that, in the century between 530 and 430 B.C., the small country of Attica produced fourteen illustrious men, one for every forty-three hundred of the free-born, adult popu-

lation. In the two centuries from 500 to 300 B.C. this small country produced over two dozen illustrious men, whose achievements were truly amazing. The philosophers and men of science included Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Demetrius, and Theophrastus; the orators, Demosthenes, Lysias, Æschines, and Isocrates; statesmen and commanders, Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, Cimon, Phocion, and Miltiades; the poets and dramatists, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Æschylus; the artists and architects, Phidias, Polygnotus, Ictinus, and Praxiteles; and the historians, Xenophon and Thucydides. Galton quite reasonably concludes that the average ability of the Athenian race of that period was, on the lowest estimate, as much greater than that of the Anglo-Saxon race of the present date as the latter is above that of the African Negro.*

A vast accumulation of the knowledge of that golden age of intellect was stored in the library at Alexandria. It was lost as a result of what must always be regarded as one of the supreme acts of folly in the whole history of mankind; and was probably the equivalent to putting back the clock of our intellectual development for about one thousand years.

¶ *The growth of the child*

And now let us turn back to our old friend the protozoon, and compare with it the early stages of man's life. The newly born child is unable to think, but its existence is made possible by the selfish primitive instincts which are exactly similar to those of the protozoon. During the first three weeks there is only the desire for food and sleep, together with a tendency to protect itself, indicated by a willingness to cling to anybody in its immediate neighborhood. At the end of about three weeks the emotions begin to show them-

* See *The Caveman Within Us*, by William T. Fielding—a work to which I am greatly indebted. C. D.

selves, and it is perhaps not surprising that the first of these is the ability to be afraid, and to be surprised. At the end of ten weeks we see signs of curiosity, pugnacity, and a little anger. By twelve weeks we see anger more fully developed, and with it the beginning of jealousy. Then comes the desire to play, and following this we see, in about the thirteenth week, the ability to associate ideas, which is the beginning of reason. It is only in the fourteenth week that true affection begins to show itself, and a baby is five months old before it begins to manifest any signs of sympathy. Eight months have passed before appreciation appears, and about the same time we see the budding shoots of conscious pride and resentment. By ten months the baby may suffer grief which is not the outcome of actual physical pain. At this stage hate and cruelty show themselves. The year-old child begins to use objects around it as tools, and it will open a tin or use a stick to draw something toward it. At the end of fifteen months we see the ability to suffer remorse, and it is at this late stage that the child shows for the first time any signs of deceit. But it should be noted that it is only children of high intellectual capacity who show deceit in the fifteenth month of their lives. Some anthropologists assert that the mentality reached by the modern child in fifteen months is equal to that of primitive man, but I do not believe them. It may perhaps be of interest to compare the development of the ape with that of the child. Kohler has closely investigated the mentality of the higher apes,* and has demonstrated for all time that, although they may be superior to us in morals, they are certainly inferior to us in intellect. The most advanced among the group of intelligent apes with which he experimented was capable only of the most elementary acts based upon logical reason, and then very often when some solution of a problem was indicated.

* *The Mentality of Apes*, by Wolfgang Kohler.

¶ *Vanity of criminals, authors, and artists*

We have already spoken of imitativeness and pride as human characteristics, but there is yet another form of pride which is worthy of some slight mention: vanity. This quality shows itself in every phase of society, but it is perhaps more conspicuous amongst criminals, literary men, and artists than among the commonalty. George Borrow says, "There is not a set of people in the world more vain than robbers in general, more fond of cutting a figure whenever they have an opportunity, and of attracting the eyes of their fellow creatures by the gallantry of their appearance." In England the conventional burglar was the rough Bill Sykes of Dickens. However true this character may have been to life in the early nineteenth century, it is no longer acceptable today. Burglars who appear in the English law courts are usually well-dressed men, often dapper and natty in appearance, though there is a tendency among them to pile on the highly colored ties and socks when prosperity permits. As Havelock Ellis says, vanity may exist in the well-developed ordinary man, but it is unobtrusive; in its extreme forms it marks the abnormal man, the man of unbalanced mental organization, that is to say, the creative artist or the criminal.

A good example of vanity is to be found in the displays that are customary at funerals in England and America. "Up-to-date" burial is a social necessity, we are told. In this respect the United States is ahead of England, and surely has made death as pleasant a thing as it can possibly be. The marked superiority of the American "morticians" and their super-refined burial caskets over the English undertakers and their common coffins shows how far the natural vanity of the relations of dead persons receives consideration. The English Undertakers Association in August, 1929, sent a delegation to America on an educational tour, in which it was hoped that they would pick up much of the mod-

ern technique and art of American burying. It must be admitted that the visit was based as much upon the desire to make money by brightening up undertaking. They have admitted that the ordinary British funeral director is antiquated in his ideas; and declare it is high time that his education be improved. We must not forget that burying has become almost a lost art, and, with the decline of religion and the advance of science—that is to say, cremation by electricity—we may expect it to disappear altogether.

¶ *Death as natural as birth*

While on the subject of death it may be well to say a few words about it, since it is of some importance in human nature. We have shown that the great urge of life is the desire to live. The great dread throughout the ages has been of death. The problems presented by the hereafter have had their effect on the development of religion, and they will be described in their proper place. But since we are dealing with the life of man, it may be as well to say here that death is by no means the terrible affair depicted to us by our religious instructors. There may be pain before the arrival of death, but when this at last comes it is usually quite peaceful. With the exception of spectacular battle-field examples, it is a mere lapse into unconsciousness. We do not know what it feels like, for nobody who has really died ever came back to tell us about it. There are even very few well-authenticated cases of people who, having lapsed into the unconsciousness preceding death, actually survived to tell the tale. Of these the best example I can find is that of an English girl. In December, 1928, she had the following experience. After an attempt to strangle her and to induce her to take poison, her admirer, Mr. Rogers, committed suicide. In the course of her evidence given before the coroner, she made the following statement:

"Rogers had been sitting beside me quite quietly. He then half-turned round and deliberately placed his two thumbs on my windpipe. He did not shake my head as though he were in a temper with me, and gradually I realized he was not playing. I had that awful sensation that he was trying to kill me. So far as I can remember he did not speak. I could not speak at all to say, 'Don't Reg! Don't be a fool!' as I wanted to. I do not even remember trying to get my hands up to scratch or do anything. Then I remember nothing. I became unconscious and I imagined for the time that I was on a comet or a planet, or something of that kind. I saw millions of faces flashing past me and all my past life came back. As I gradually came to I could see fields, and after a few seconds I realized that I was turning my head from side to side. Then for a moment I thought I was in a glass coffin and all I could see was the frosted glass. The first words I remember saying were, 'Am I dead?' Somebody was waving something white, a handkerchief, I think, in front of me, and said, 'No, you are not dead, and you will be quite all right.' Something was wrong with my mouth, but I did not realize that my tongue was hanging out. Reginald was still with me. He waved a handkerchief before me as though he were fanning me. I said to him, 'I am dying! I am dying! Let me have air!' He opened a window of the car, but it would only open half-way down. That was not enough. I tried to get my head through. He said, 'You are all right. Eat this,' and he put something on my tongue. I could not bear anything near my tongue. I took it in my left hand and passed it into my right and dropped it out of the window. At this time every sound seemed to register itself on my mind. The stuff I took from my mouth was rough and powdery and shaped like a sugared almond. I heard it fall onto the running board and it sounded almost like a bomb to me,

because all sounds were gradually coming back to my mind. At the same time I realized that Reginald was crunching something. I was angry, and thought, Why is he eating sweets when he knows I am so ill? I insisted on getting out and he released me and I got into the road. He followed me up the lane into the main road, and even then I could not realize that he had tried to strangle me. I merely thought that I had gone through this terrible experience and he had been with me all the time. But in the open air my senses came back to me suddenly. I touched my tongue with my finger and tasted something very bitter, like alum. Then it came to me in a flash that he was trying to kill me, and I ran down the road screaming." *

¶ *Decline of murder except in the United States*

The form of death described above was an attempt at murder, the oldest crime in history and the highest offense against the laws of most countries; although the early Persians did not punish the first offense, and in England during the heptarchy it was punished by fines only. Persons who attempt murder or actually commit murder are regarded by their fellows as criminals, and all who kill without the permission of the law are generally deemed to be the worst form of criminals. Executioners, soldiers and policemen on duty are licensed to kill. The life of a soldier is a training in killing, and there are cynical persons who say that this applies equally to doctors; but it is not true in every case. In the ordinary course of life men no longer attempt to murder their fellow men, except in certain parts of the world where murder is not only common, but increasing almost daily. Why men commit murder nowadays will be discussed later. But taking crime as a whole, and including in it the whole series of acts against person or property, we may say that there are

* Reported by the *London Daily Mail*.

three causes. The first is difficult to define and for want of a better term may be called cosmic in its nature. It depends upon climate and diet. There is, secondly, the biological factor which depends upon the personal peculiarities of the individual, and these include many strange features of human nature, morbid, atavistic, or even humorous. Wainwright, the English murderer, was asked why it was that he could kill so innocent and trustful a creature as Helen Abercrombie. After a moment's hesitation for reflection he replied, "Upon my soul, I don't know, unless it was that she had such thick legs." In India no motive for murder seems too unnatural or too far-fetched to be occasionally true. A village schoolmaster in Aligarh killed one of his pupils; and a stepfather in the same district threw his two stepsons into the Ganges because he was tired of them. A man in Jhansi killed his daughter because his neighbor had slandered her, in order that the girl's blood might be upon the neighbor's head. A master murdered his servant and threw the body before his enemy's door, solely in order to bring a false charge against the latter.*

¶ *Society has the criminals it deserves*

Lastly there is the social factor in crime. A French criminologist wittily said, "*Society prepares crimes and the criminal is the instrument that executes them.*" And another declares that social environment may be the cultivation medium of criminality; the criminal is the microbe, an element that becomes important only when it finds the medium which causes it to ferment. In other words, every society has the criminals that it deserves. Many instincts are inherited which seem to make crime inevitable. The acquisitive instinct, the sex instinct, the fighting instinct—these, if unrestrained, may lead directly to offenses against law. Such instincts are inher-

* Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*.

ited by every human being; they are part of the mental equipment of the human race. The criminal, if he differs from the rest, differs merely because his instincts are stronger than our own. In the hereditary equipment of the youthful criminal the most serious handicap is not lack of morals but lack of intelligence. Among the juvenile delinquents in London, as many as eighty per cent are below the average level in general ability. The ordinary criminal, when grown up, still shows the mental age of a boy of only ten or eleven. Most rogues are also fools. Such cases as that of Leopold and Loeb are exceptional; this case sprang from sheer conceit on the part of at least one of these boys. Of all the conditions that go to the making of the youthful criminal, the most important are those that center in the home. Improper discipline is perhaps the commonest. The discipline may be too lax or too strict; or, worst of all, it may be of the oscillating, forcible-feeble type, where the boy is one moment cuffed for making a noise, and next moment bribed with a penny to keep him quiet.*

¶ *Men of genius may be criminals*

The late Professor Lester Ward, referring to the skilful and daring criminal in the United States, called him "the genius of the slums." By this expressive term he meant that when native talent or genius finds its birthright cheated by the blight of poverty, its course nowadays often becomes perverted by sordid surroundings and lack of constructive opportunity. To satisfy the craving for wealth, excitement, and achievement, to secure an outlet for the expression of the powerful primitive urge, it almost inevitably turns into antisocial channels, and hence we get crooks and gangsters. Casanova, a man of various and extraordinary abilities, has

* Dr. Cyril Burt, Professor of Education, University of London, and Psychologist to the London County Council (1929).

in his memoirs, of which the strict historical accuracy is now generally accepted, produced one of the most valuable and interesting records of the eighteenth century, and at the same time a most complete and complaisant history of his own criminal offenses. It is difficult to say whether in him the criminal or the man of genius is more prominent. A poet of very great importance, in French literature, Paul Verlaine, is an interesting example of the man of genius who was also distinctly a criminal. Verlaine was leader of the so-called "Decadent" school of the nineteenth century. The precise rank that he will ultimately take as a poet is not yet clear, but it must surely be high; he has been both unduly neglected and unduly extolled. He excels in delicate passages of vague and mystic reverie, in sudden lines of poignant emotion. His private life was exceptionally vicious, even for a poet; and he is quoted here merely to show that crime is not a question of intellect.

Criminality consists in a failure to live up to the standard recognized as binding by the community. The criminal is an individual whose organization makes it difficult or impossible for him to live in accordance with this standard, and easy to risk the penalties of acting antisocially. By some accident of development, by some defect of heredity or birth or training, he belongs to an older social state than that in which he is actually living. "Men of undoubted intellectual power are sometimes found among criminals. Villon, one of the truest, if not one of the greatest of poets, was a criminal, a man perpetually in danger of the gallows; it does not seem to me, however, by any means clear that he was what we should call an instinctive criminal. Vidocq, a clever criminal who became an equally successful police official, and wrote his interesting and instructive *Memoirs*, may not have been, as Lombroso claims, a

man of genius, but he was certainly a man of great ability." *

It is impossible to go into details of the different kinds of crime. A list of the acts or expressed thoughts which in different parts of the world are considered to be crimes would fill half this book. But it is possible to mention here a few of the punishments that are meted out to convicted criminals by those who desire to protect their own interests. The Jews used to stone their criminals, and in the code of Draco published in 621 B.C. every offense brought with it a penalty of death. A Persian soldier who *boasted* that he had killed Cyrus the Younger at the battle of Cunaxa was, by order of Artaxerxes, exposed to the sun for a period of eighteen days. In the modern world there has been and still exists in certain countries the punishment of death for the more serious crimes, which include murder. In England the ceremony of hanging, drawing, and quartering was introduced in 1241, and abolished only about a hundred and fifty years ago. The English still hang their murderers, although there is a move afoot to reduce this penalty to one of penal servitude for life. In 1865 a commission on capital punishment in England recommended that penal servitude should be substituted for unpremeditated murder, and in the course of the nineteenth century the number of crimes for which death was a penalty in England was reduced from about two hundred to only three. Modern states execute their criminals on the gallows or guillotine, by shooting, decapitation with an ax or sword, strangulation by garrote in Spain, and by electrocution in the United States. According to the London Daily Express the ex-king of Afghanistan, in that (for him) troublesome month of January, 1929, fell back upon a once popular method of execution:

* Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*.

An eye-witness related how three tribesmen who had been caught by Amanullah's troops when attacking caravans, were brought in chains to Kandahar, and sentenced to be shot from the cannon's mouth. The sentence was carried out on a mound just outside the city, and all the inhabitants viewed the spectacle *by order*. Guns imported recently were used. The condemned men were tied to the muzzles, and blown to pieces [*my italics*].

¶ *Case of the "Marquis de Chanbaubert"*

In October, 1929, Paris was astounded by a story published in the newspaper regarding one Clément Passal, alias the Marquis de Chanbaubert, a murderer and well-known jewel thief, who came to a romantic and spectacular end. This interesting human being used to entice his victims to a sweet villa of his outside Dinard. It was known as the Château Chloroforme, because of his quaint method of dealing death to those whose existence he no longer required. In his "castle"—that is, villa—the marquis had constructed a death chamber. A room in the basement was hung with mattresses, covered with heavy curtains and made almost airtight. By means of an electric pump (hidden in the cellar) the ingenious nobleman would force fumes of chloroform into the room, and in this manner he could quietly and painlessly either exterminate his victims completely, or put them to sleep, to be dispatched in his leisure moments. Now it would appear that this tender-hearted criminal had all the vanity of a literary man; he determined to publish to the world a statement of his adventures, and reminiscences. With a keen eye to business, he realized at the outset that his work was worthy of a good advertisement. He put on his thinking cap, and the plan ultimately evolved was this: A number of confederates were to bury him alive, but leading

from the coffin underground there should be a pipe to permit him to breathe. The idea was that he should "escape"—that is, be rescued—in order that the story of his dramatic deliverance from a horrible death might stir the imagination of mankind, bring fame and glory to his name, and thereby increase the sales of his book.

This great plan miscarried, as great plans sometimes do, by virtue of a trifling oversight. There was only one air pipe, and therefore there could be no current of air through the coffin: result, carbonic acid gas, and untimely death of the noble marquis. On Wednesday, October 2, his companions went to the spot in the forest where they had buried Passal, to bring him food. When they arrived at the grave, they called out to him, and found to their dismay that he was dead. That is one version of the story. Another is that a group of men had formed themselves into a secret society for the purpose of executing justice on criminals, and they had decided that he came within the scope of their activities because of his known robberies and murders.

"About six o'clock on Saturday," they wrote in a letter to *Le Matin*, "we told the 'marquis' of the fate which awaited him. We explained to him that we were going to bury him alive, but that he would be allowed to breathe and suffer atrociously from hunger and thirst. We undressed him, and laid him in the coffin we had made from a packing case. He made no resistance, but continued to talk incoherently. We covered the coffin with earth, and remained on watch until four in the morning. We told him that if he uttered a word we should plug the pipe leading to the coffin and suffocate him. In reality we abandoned him to his fate, knowing that he could not escape." The full truth regarding this extraordinary case is not yet known, but it is at all events an example either of the freakishness

of human nature, or of the criminal vanity of certain members of the human species.

¶ *Great utility of mendacity*

It is fairly well known that most men are liars and indeed the good Psalmist has said, "All men are liars." * There is no need to describe the person who tells lies for the sake of his own selfish gain, for there are really very few people who do not do this at some time or other in their lives. Mention should be made of the type known as the "pathological" liar, that is the person who makes amusement for himself and often for others by conceits of exaggeration, and stories that surprise. It is a fairly common human weakness, which has persisted throughout the centuries. The writing of most "fiction" is based on the use of this quality. Many pathological liars are quite dangerous, because their lying often takes the form of spreading stories and rumors. Others of them frequently serve a useful purpose. In the early days of the World War, for example, there was that wonderful story of the Russian troops' having landed in England to pass through it on their way to help the Allies in France. Probably it was started by a pathological liar. It was one of those delightful lies which were so pleasant and comforting in those days of trial. It spread like wildfire throughout England. A curate in the Church of England at Liverpool told an acquaintance of mine that Mr. X., a close friend of his, had only two days before seen the trains *full of Russians* passing through Carlisle. One train halted for a few moments, and a number of big strong men with bushy black beards and top-boots got out on the platform and asked in deep guttural tones for vodka. The rumor was of great military value. A telegram from Rome was published to the effect that there was to be a concentration of a quarter of a million Rus-

* *Psalm CXVI*, v. 11.

sian troops in France. On September 14, 1914, the London Daily News published the following:

As will be seen from the long despatch of Mr. P. J. Philip, our special correspondent, Russian troops are now cooperating with the Belgians. This information proved the correctness of the general impression that Russian troops have been moved through England.

Such a piece of news, at a moment of very great anxiety, was just what was wanted to counter the bad news that could not be suppressed. No official denial was necessary, although it was a complete falsehood.

The pathological liar is often unaware that he is lying, and pays little attention to the morality of it. It is with him a mental aberration which takes the form of a life in fantasy. In children it springs generally from a sense of inferiority, and the only way they can compensate for this inferiority is to indulge in dreams in which they are in a position of importance. The same phenomena may often be observed in politicians, writers, and poets; but they occasionally turn it to good account. Goethe admits that in his early childhood he felt himself developing into a pathological liar, and it was only by a great mental effort that he turned his imaginings into metaphysical speculations. We all of us know the man who never goes anywhere or does anything without some exciting adventure coming his way. Such unconscious lying gives him a sense of superiority, and a feeling of pleasure.

While on this subject I must fall back upon Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's admirable analysis of the lies that were told by the belligerents in the World War. He says that there must have been more deliberate lying from 1914 to 1918 than in any other period of the

world's history. In my opinion original lying has always been on more or less the same scale, but the telegraph, the wireless, and the printing press gave lying an amazing fillip and popularity in those eventful years. I can illustrate this "golden age of lying," as Mr. Ponsonby will have it, by quoting liberally from his book. My excuse must be that he shows better than I can what human mentality is like in this twentieth century.

¶ *The principles of propaganda*

"There are several different sorts of disguises which falsehood can take," says Mr. Ponsonby. "There is (1) the deliberate official lie, issued either to delude the people at home or to mislead the enemy abroad. As a Frenchman has said, 'As long as peoples are armed against each other, there will be lying statesmen, just as there will be cannons and machine guns.' A circular was issued by the War Office inviting reports on war incidents from officers with regard to the enemy and stating that strict accuracy was not essential so long as there was inherent probability. (2) There is the deliberate lie concocted by an ingenious mind which may only reach a small circle, but which, if sufficiently graphic and picturesque, may be caught up and spread broadcast; and there is the hysterical hallucination on the part of weak-minded individuals. (3) There is the lie heard and not denied, although lacking in evidence, and then repeated or allowed to circulate. (4) There is the mistranslation, occasionally originating in a genuine mistake, but more often deliberate. Two minor instances of this may be given.

(a)

The Times (Agony Column), July 9, 1915.

Jack F. G.—If you are not in khaki by the 20th,
I you dead.—Ethel M.

The Berlin Correspondent of the "Cologne Gazette" transmitted this:

"If you are not in khaki by the 20th,
hacke ich dich zu Tode (I will beat you
to death)!"

(b)

During the blockade of Germany, it was suggested that the diseases from which children suffered had been called *die englische Krankheit*, (the English disease) as a permanent reflection on English inhumanity. As a matter of fact, *die englische Krankheit* is, and always has been, the common German name for rickets.

(5) There is the general obsession, started by rumor, magnified by repetition and elaborated by hysteria, which at last gains general acceptance. (6) There is the deliberate forgery which has to be very carefully manufactured but serves its purpose at the moment even though it be eventually exposed.

"(7) There is the omission of passages from official documents; and the 'correctness' of words and commas in parliamentary answers which conceals evasions of the truth. (8) There is the deliberate exaggeration, such, for instance, as the reports of the destruction of Louvain: 'The intellectual metropolis of the Low Countries since the fifteenth century is now no more than a heap of ashes' (Press Bureau, August 29, 1914). 'Louvain has ceased to exist' (the Times, August 29, 1914). As a matter of fact, it was estimated that about an eighth of the town had suffered. (9) There is the concealment of truth, which has to be resorted to so as to prevent anything to the credit of the enemy reaching the public. A war correspondent who mentioned some chivalrous act that a German had done to an Englishman during an action received a rebuking telegram from his employer: 'Don't want to hear about any good

Germans.' Sir Philip Gibbs, in 'Realities of War,' says: 'At the close of the day the Germans acted with chivalry, which I was not allowed to tell at the time.' (10) There is the faked photograph ('the camera cannot lie'). These were more popular in France than here. *In Vienna an enterprising firm supplied atrocity photographs with blanks for the headings, so that they might be used for propaganda purposes by either side.* (11) The cinema also played a very important part, especially in neutral countries, and helped considerably in turning opinion in America in favor of coming in on the side of the Allies. (12) There is the 'Russian scandal,' the best instance of which during the war, curiously enough, was the rumor of the passage of Russian troops through Britain.

"Some trivial and imperfectly understood statement of fact becomes magnified into enormous proportions by constant repetition from one person to another. (13) Atrocity lies were the most popular of all, especially in England and America; no war can be without them. Slander of the enemy is esteemed a patriotic duty. An English soldier wrote (the Times, Sept. 15, 1914): *'The stories in our papers are only exceptions. There are people like them in every army.'* But at the earliest possible moment stories of the maltreatment of prisoners have to be circulated deliberately in order to prevent surrenders. This is done, of course, on both sides. Whereas naturally each side tries to treat its prisoners as well as possible so as to attract others. (14) The repetition of a single instance of cruelty and its exaggeration can be distorted into a prevailing habit on the part of the enemy. Unconsciously each one passes it on with trimmings and yet tries to persuade himself that he is speaking the truth. (15) There are lies emanating from the inherent unreliability and fallibility of human testimony. No two people can relate the occurrence of a

street accident so as to make the two stories tally. When bias and emotion are introduced, human testimony becomes quite valueless. In war-time such testimony is accepted as conclusive. The scrappiest and most unreliable evidence is sufficient—'*The friend of the brother of a man who was killed*,' or, as a German investigator of his own liars puts it, '*somebody who had seen it*,' or, '*an extremely respectable old woman*.' (16) There is pure romance. Letters of soldiers who whiled away the days and weeks of intolerable waiting by writing home sometimes contained thrilling descriptions of engagements and adventures which had never occurred. (17) There are evasions, concealments, and half-truths which are more subtly misleading and gradually become a governmental habit. (18) There is official secrecy, which must necessarily mislead public opinion. (19) There is sham official indignation, depending on genuine popular indignation, which is a form of falsehood sometimes resorted to in an unguarded moment and subsequently regretted. The first use of gas by the Germans and the submarine warfare are good instances of this. (20) Contempt for the enemy, if illustrated, can prove to be an unwise form of falsehood. There was a time when German soldiers were popularly represented cringing, with their arms in the air and crying 'Kamerad,' until it occurred to press and propaganda authorities that people were asking why, if this was the sort of material we were fighting against, had we not wiped them off the field in a few weeks. (21) There are personal accusations and false charges made in a prejudiced war atmosphere to discredit persons who refuse to adopt the orthodox attitude toward war. (22) There are lying recriminations between one country and another. For instance, the Germans were accused of having engineered the Armenian massacres, and they, on their side, declared the Armenians, stimu-

lated by the Russians, had killed 150,000 Mohammedans (Germania, October 9, 1915).

"Other varieties of falsehood more subtle and elusive might be found, but the above pretty well cover the ground." *

Mr. Ponsonby then goes on to expand his analysis, giving examples of each kind of the above lies used wholesale throughout the war. We may assume that his statement is correct if very incomplete. It shows in a striking manner the basic immorality of modern man, and that, given the right atmosphere, he may sink to any form of degradation, to any despicable trick, in order to thwart and deceive his fellow men.

¶ *Does human nature change?*

We may now well ask ourselves the question: "*Does human nature change?*"

In view of what has already been said, a very great question-mark stands vividly before our eyes. Indeed, what it all seems to amount to is this: *the superficial manners of man have changed considerably, but those fundamental instincts and emotions upon which human nature is based have undergone little real change.* In every-day life and in what may be called the ordinary run of existence, many of these instincts and emotions are repressed. At a given moment in the life of an individual, of a nation, of a race, or nowadays of a continent, remove the lid of culture and civilization, and we see boiling in the pot the whole vile stew of the primitive. The history of human nature is the history of a gradual repression of the primitive instincts and emotions, with moments now and again and in certain circumscribed localities in which there is a sudden release of the repressions—during the World War, for ex-

* The above "Twenty-two points of lying" are quoted (almost verbatim) from *Falsehood in War Time* by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. The book is well documented throughout, and worth perusal by those who are interested in the question of religious influence upon truthfulness, C. D.

ample, or during the Crusades. We then witness acts by individuals and by groups, by races and by nations, of a sort to show that we are, to all intents and purposes, not very far above the level of jungle beasts. Such inventions as the airplane, wireless telegraphy, or the talking pictures do not cause great changes in our nature. They are merely externals, and are not without some slight influence. A long period of time may be necessary to effect even the slightest changes.

We shall see that in the last two thousand years Christianity has changed the outlook of men, and given a great impetus to superficial humanitarianism. The same may be said of the other great religions. But one may ask whether even Christianity, which brought in its train a whole series of terrible wars, not to mention physical and mental torture, has really caused anything very wonderful in the way of a change in our natures. Curiously enough, it seems as if books have had as great an effect as anything else. In December, 1928, there was enacted in London a simple event which shows as well as anything else what daily looms in the background of our nature. A man boarded a tram and refused to pay his fare. The conductor caused this man to be brought before a magistrate for the non-payment of a legal fare. The man was asked why he had not paid it, and he replied in these simple words: "*Sheer cussedness.*" The magistrate bowed solemnly and gave a judgment worthy of Solomon. Said he, "Knowing human nature to be what it is we accept the explanation." And he forthwith dismissed the case.*

One may well feel after reading history that the whole case against human nature may be dismissed for the same unanswerable reason.

We may now proceed to a closer examination of history, and to a consideration of those events which illus-

* Reported by the *London Times*, in a leading article.

trate the working and development of this complex phenomenon which we call human nature. We shall see that it works in cycles of savagery, barbarism, and civilization; and that the one may run parallel with the other or all three be found together at the same time and in the same place.

BOOK II

THE TAMING AND
SOPHISTICATION OF
HUMAN NATURE

§ 1. REAL ESTATE AND JUJU

IN the first book we have discussed the origin of fire and indicated its supreme importance upon the development of man's nature. Of scarcely less importance was the fence, invented to separate one person's land from that of another. It seems strange to us now to think that originally land was not owned, in the sense that real estate can be owned nowadays by an individual, a group, or a nation. There was in many places communal use of land. But one fine day a greedy agriculturist conceived the idea of marking off a piece for his own use, and surrounding it by a fence to keep other men from trespassing: that was the origin of real property, which has caused so much trouble in the affairs of men in all ages. Great families, tribal boundaries, and nations sprang from it; one school of thought believes it to be the pivot of all human history. It seems quite simple, this fence idea, and yet its origin cannot date very far back. I do not mean the fence which primitive man might build round his cave or shelter to protect it from the attacks of wild beasts or of his fellow men of other tribes. Probably that was the first kind of fence. But far more subtle was that idea of surrounding a piece of arable or tillable land with a hedge, or merely a row of sticks, to mark it off from that which was occupied by a neighbor.

¶ *What we owe to the fence*

The importance of this originally modest idea in human affairs can scarcely be exaggerated, for was not this fence or boundary the cause of the first economic war? We see its effects even in our own times. There

are still many parts of the world's surface which have not yet succumbed by delimitation to the finesse of greed. In Latin America, for example, there are still a dozen boundary disputes, all of them very troublesome and a few having in them the germs of very pretty wars. The dispute between Chile and Peru regarding the territory of Tacna-Arica has been the cause of exceedingly bad blood between these two nations during the last thirty years, and on many occasions war between them was averted only by the merest accident. Paraguay and Bolivia were recently snarling at each other, ready to bite off a piece of each other's boundary. We see then that, although the fence is useful it may be dangerous, for man will often fight to the death for what it encloses. In Europe today there are several boundaries which do not satisfy the peoples who live in their immediate neighborhood, and others besides; it is not impossible that they may in the future be the cause of another conflagration as devastating as the last. On each side of *every* fence in the world there are to be found interests which conflict with one another in some way. There appears to be little possibility of avoiding the problems which they present; they have seldom been avoided in the past. No civilized country but possesses a body of property law; and there is no civilized country in which the squabbles about real estate do not bring a rich harvest to a type of human being which exists rather to sit on the fence than to live on either side of it: the lawyers.

Man the hunted animal, man the hunter, man the fire-maker, man the agriculturist and pastoralist, man the fencemaker—these are great landmarks without ascertained dates in the history of human nature. The next landmark which we shall consider is the wheel, for it too has shown itself to have been a powerful influence. It is as a result of the invention of the wheel that

life has been speeded up to its present pace: it is to the fire and the wheel that we largely owe the quickening of intellect that has taken place during the last one hundred and fifty years. (Note that I do not say the *growth* of intellect, but merely its quicker action within severely circumscribed limits; this applies only to the masses of western civilization.)

¶ *The wheel rounds off human nature*

I have endeavored to trace the origin of the wheel, but with utter lack of success. We can only speculate as to its origin. Mr. Belloc submits a most likely theory as to its beginning: his idea is that, by a flash of genius, prehistoric man jumped the gulf which separates the wheel from the roller. Belloc shrewdly remarks that the suggestion so often made that the first wheel was probably the section of a tree, is so unlikely as to be almost impossible. The fact remains that the oldest wheels of which we have any knowledge are wheels in the true modern sense of the word, with felloes and spokes radiating from a hub. The earliest wheels come to us from what has been called the cradle of civilization—Mesopotamia—but the first ingenious wheel having in it six spokes instead of four, thereby indicating manufacture by a more civilized man, comes from Egypt. There are solid wheels and spoked wheels, the forerunners of those wheels used today on automobiles, motor-bicycles, pulleys, and other devices, the use of which chiefly marks our differences from the primitive. "In our own time the wheel has taken on a marvelous extension. It gives us electrical energy to use; it transmits power; it keeps time for us; it measures all things from a map to the speed of light; it permits our curious toys, such as moving pictures. It endows us with the special uses of the gyroscope; it drives our turbines by steam and water, and soon perhaps, by air. It even aids in our vices, and by its im-

personality, and exactitude, it makes our gambling reasonably impersonal." * One might add that it enables us to wage war on a scale hitherto only possible to the diseased imaginations of fiends. It was also this simple device, the wheel, which caused man first to make a road, later a highway, and still later the network of railways to be found in all civilized parts of the world and in many that are still living through their age of barbarism. The first road was merely a track made by the footsteps of men between one group of dwellings and another. The invention of the wheel was soon followed by that of the vehicle: this necessitated a more solid surface upon which to circulate; hence the first real road.

¶ *The canalization of humanity*

In its relation to the development of human nature the road occupies an exceedingly important place, one which is almost entirely neglected by orthodox historians, though those who specialize in military history can scarcely avoid it at every turn. Once a good road is made it attracts the attention of men and becomes a means of communication; population is attracted to certain parts of it which are favorably situated from the point of view of protection, trade, or comfort. The road is responsible for that huge division of mankind into town or city-dwellers and those who prefer to remain closer to the soil in rural areas. "The road having caused the growth of the city, after a certain point a high differentiation arises between urban and rural life. The differentiation may become so great that you arrive at a clash of fundamental interests, in which one of the two is defeated. . . . The towns became so much the more important part of English life (in the last two generations) that the agricultural life was entirely sacrificed to them—and the road was the ultimate

* Hilaire Belloc: *The Highway and Its Vehicles*.

cause. Again you get the curious development of what may be called 'reserve' towns: towns like Brighton and Blackpool, which are the playgrounds of the greater cities at a distance; the large urban center breeds, as it were, a lesser one after its own pattern. You have got in modern times that further curious reaction due to growing excellence of communications—that is, due to the growth of the road—the *pulse* of the great modern city. Crowds of human beings pour out of Victoria or Liverpool Street stations into London, and pour back from London in the evening. The station of Saint-Lazare in Paris is, in Europe, the most striking visual evidence of this strange modern development, great floods of human beings cascading into the city at the opening day and ebbing back at its close." *

To the road also we may attribute another curious modern phenomenon in human nature: the growth of an amazing snobbery among suburban dwellers. The family which can afford a season ticket now deems itself a superior form of creation to that which is forced by economic circumstances to dwell in the crowded areas and slums of the city. And again, in London, as a result of this, there is yet another class which is still more snobbish than the suburbanites, and insists upon dwelling in expensive and exclusive flats in the more salubrious parts of the metropolis.

¶ *Migrant man*

The road was largely responsible for the military success of the Roman Empire; and it was the road which, by facilitating the spread of Christianity, as well as the influx into Rome of wealth and luxury from conquered territories, led to its decline and fall. As we have shown, primitive man became a wanderer chiefly because of the invention of a means of making fire. The habit of wandering, once acquired, was assisted by

* Hilaire Belloc, *The Road*.

the road to develop into a nomadic tendency which man has never abandoned. We see this exemplified in modern tourism, in walking tours or "hiking"; in the often aimless wanderings of tramps; in the meandering voyages across the American continent by penniless hoboes. These people are often merely fleeing from reality, but not always. At one period vast numbers of Asiatics spread westward over the plains of Eastern Europe. They were largely indisciplined forces, but they had with them fire and wheels, horses and grain, which they used in their settlement of Europe. Since then at various times in human history the wandering spirit of man has shown itself in vast migrations; at first they were warlike raids, now they are peaceful penetrations. In the past four hundred years, for example, the continent of America has been the goal of a migration from Europe. The results of these invasions and migrations mean an intermixture of races which seems on the face of it to be beneficial to humanity; or at all events the resultant mixture is invariably inclined to assert that it is. The mingling of the wise and weary with the young and powerful can produce excellent results. The interchange of ideas proceeds; and new means of comfort are discovered. Hitherto these migrations and penetrations have taken place chiefly among white races, and now as a result the white race everywhere almost entirely consists of mongrels. The yellows and the blacks do not mix very much or even very well with the whites; nor are the whites anxious that they should do so. In a sense therefore there are three kinds of human nature, outwardly indicated by the color of the skin.

¶ *Origin of sport*

With the aid of his fire, his wheels, and his roads man was enabled to settle in large groups which grew into cities. He still continued to hunt, but when he was

unable to do this he had to find other means of working off his excess energy. Occasionally he could do so in war, but when there was no war he was driven back upon other expedients, and these were based upon a sort of instinct to *throw*, to *run*, and to *strike*, which came from hunting or war. In this we see the origin of games, which were originally in the form of contests in one or another of these three. In Greece, as we shall see, they afterwards developed into that group of activities which we call sport. Hunting changed from a serious business into a mere sport, and as such it has almost disappeared because of the intense development of that idea contained in the fence and the boundary. It is only the richest people who can now afford to hunt on a grand scale. But the hunting spirit survives. Nothing can cause more excitement in the household of a highly civilized family than the hunting down of a rat or mouse or even of so beautiful an insect as a wasp. Boys still love to throw stones at cats, dogs, or birds; and must be taught that it is wrong before they will desist from this cruel form of amusement. In England we still hunt the hare, the fox, and the stag where these can be found. Not many of them remain, for they have very little chance against the modern organized hunt.

¶ *The delicate modern conscience*

As an instance of the change which has taken place in human nature, it should be noted that in many parts of the world there is now a fair amount of public indignation against hunting or the indulgence in what are called "Blood Sports."

But it is in the development of games other than hunting that man has showed himself to be most ingenious. There was not one of the older civilizations without its games. The Greeks were the originators of that comparatively modern humanitarian spirit which is called sportsmanship; in modern times no people

have developed it to a greater degree than the English. Most of the common modern games may be traced to that country, and in England the interest in sport may be estimated from the fact that many newspapers exist chiefly because of the excellence of their sporting pages.

¶ *Daymare origin of religion*

The origin of the religious spirit cannot be traced so successfully, although many attempts have been made to do so. The contemplative part of early man's life must have been something in the nature of a nightmare; or rather daymare; he feared everything unfamiliar and unknown. He acted in precisely the same panicky manner as a tiger which, having left the jungle, catches sight of a few threads of cotton. He developed a whole series of ideas regarding things that were forbidden or "Taboo." Out of these fears and taboos was evolved a system of religion, at which date in man's history we do not know. Nor can one be sure that religion existed amongst all the primitive races, for even now there are whole races with scarcely any formal religion. Spencer evolved a plausible theory of the origin of religion based upon evidence furnished by the life and thought of modern savages. According to him, the primitive formed a conception of the soul from what he believed to be his experience: that after dreams or swoons the mind which had temporarily roamed away from the body was able to return. The next step is the belief that after death the soul exists for a time as a spirit; following this, in comparatively modern times—that is, in ancient Egypt—an idea of the immortality of the soul began to show itself.

Early man blamed evil spirits for all the calamities and catastrophes of his existence. Gradually these were narrowed down to two spirits, the one representing Good (God) and the other representing Evil (Devil).

These old imaginative conceptions have come down to us, and are the basis of most of the present religious systems of the world. There are, however, still races who have not advanced so far as the idea of God: certain Australian tribes; the Lepchas of India; and the Xosa Kafirs. Garcilaso de la Vega informs us that the Chiriguano and the natives of Cape Pasau in South America had no inclination to worship god or devil. In Brazil the Chunchos of the Amazon valley have no religion, nor have many of the Indians of the Gran Chaco. Until quite recently, Indians and tribes that dwelt on the shores of the Hudson Bay had no public worship nor any words to express the God-idea. Before the arrival of missionaries with their whisky and rum the Eskimos did not know of good or evil spirits, and sternly avoided all forms of religious worship. There is sound reason to believe that, until deaf-mutes (of any race) receive education, they never formulate in their minds any idea of recognizable religion.* Be this as it may, once religion has taken root it is not long before it shows some signs of growth and expansion in ideas. It is a long way from the hazy concepts of early religion to that of Akhnaton, the Egyptian, or Judaism, in which the idea of a localized or tribal deity was expanded into a Universal God, omnipotent and omniscient.

The basis of the Jewish religion is the doctrine of rewards and punishment: the man who behaves in the manner decreed by God will be rewarded, and he who does otherwise will be punished. There will be compound interest given on good or bad deeds. The authors of the first five books of the Bible took no account of Hell, and the idea of offering rewards and punishments in the after life is a comparatively modern idea—a few thousand years old, at most. Around the main

* F. J. Gould, *A Short History of Religion*.

ideas of morality of the Hebrew religion there grew an elaborate mythology, which was closely connected with, and influenced by, the mythologies of preceding and contemporary people. The ethical code was savage, though a very practical one, dominated by the spirit of vendetta or reprisal, by which the Almighty vented his wrath on individuals, nations or races for failing to pay mental tax and tribute.

¶ *Influence of Things Invisible and Intangible*

There is no doubt that the influence of these ideas, when stripped of the symbolism and formalism added by priests and rulers, had a profound influence upon human nature. It was these *Invisible and Intangible Things* which caused the first spiritual change in our nature: they were responsible for a repression and a breaking-in or taming. The reason is obvious. Before the arrival of the God who was everywhere, was everything, and had even the hairs of human beings' heads well and truly numbered, the man who wished to do wrong, and was not immediately under the observation of his fellows, could do so almost with impunity. But now a powerful universal spirit had arrived who was *taking account of every action, even if done by stealth*. How could man, with his inheritance of fear from the days when he was a hunted animal, behave otherwise than attempt to do that which his teachers taught him was right? It was the first blackmail on the grand scale.

¶ *True history of the Devil*

Almost at the same time as the Hebrew use of the Universal God (that is to say, about five thousand years B.C.) another bright idea was evolved. It happened somewhat in this manner. If the Great Universal God were omnipotent and omniscient, it was rather difficult to explain why he permitted so much evil in the world. Another god—one not so powerful, but al-

most—had to be invented; and so the Devil arrived among us. It would appear that the Devil-idea spread far more rapidly than that of the single God: far away to the west are to be found traces of his existence in paintings that must have been made perhaps a thousand years before our era. The true history of the Devil is now fairly well known, and his evolution from a kind of horned god and ruler of the underworld of evil has been chronicled in terms of moderately scientific history. How much influence the Devil has had upon our spiritual advancement will be treated later, but let it suffice for the present to say that, without him, the success of the Universal God might not have been nearly so great as it undoubtedly was. It is an amazing commentary upon human faith and credulity that existing religious and scientific doctrines relating to the creation of the world, the tyranny over man by Invisible and Intangible Things, the control of his destiny after death, all of them resulting from the imaginative speculation of men of genius, but in no manner capable of proof in terms of reason, have swayed whole nations and governed almost every action in the lives of masses of individuals. One may ask how it can matter to the behavior of man whether he believes that his actions are controlled by one God or a dozen, but this becomes important if he is made to feel responsible to those who have earthly power over him and who tell him that it does matter. Rulers with their priests, supported by armies or the equivalent of police, have made full use of religious systems to control actions not under their immediate supervision. Even emperors and kings submitted to this system of spiritual government, often with beneficial results. In western civilization today much of this influence is disappearing, but the great trading and colonizing nations still use it as a means to keep order in less sophisticated races. Reade noticed

that the general attitude which human beings observe toward God is that which an eastern subject is made to observe toward his king: a form of devotion based on fear and called loyalty when given to earthly rulers, piety when given to the heavenly ruler. No influence is more powerful and, on the whole, none more beneficial to ignorant or helpless people incapable of thinking for themselves. Religion was, until the seventeenth century of the Christian era, the dominating power over human behavior.

¶ *A list of jujuists*

The higher religions develop into a form of government with a code of laws drawn up and administered by specially gifted beings. These exceptional human beings are to be found everywhere. We meet them as ecclesiastics, preachers, and patriarchs, deans and postulants, canons and missionaries, lecturers and friars; they come to us as prelates and pastors, cardinals and rectors, holy-rollers and cenobites, rabbis and dervishes, acolytes and eminences, prebendaries and confessors, medicine-men and incumbents, scribes and monks; we meet them as hierophants and voodooists, presbyters and priors, novices and readers, suffragans and charm-sellers, class leaders and capitulars, elders and primates, popes and juju men, tithe collectors, gospels and cure-alls.* The work of all these people is to tell men to do as they say; and all will be well both here and hereafter. Their influence is to be felt from pole to pole, like that of the weather.

To assist these men in the difficult task of persuading others that they must do as they are told, great gifts are often claimed. For example, in the Bible we read of certain men who claimed for themselves the gift of prophecy; a very useful one indeed. They said that they could persuade God to reveal the future to them,

* Ambrose Bierce's List, to which I have added, C. D.

and those around them were fully convinced both of their sincerity and of the accuracy of their statement. Prophets are men of great imaginative powers. Ideas come to them vividly, and always when they are under the influence of a deep emotion. In certain parts of the East they may still be observed; in the West they are also found, though the modern medical practice is to certify them insane, if they are bold enough to prophesy publicly. They no longer set themselves up successfully as religious prophets, as in the past. But the whole of human history is littered with their work, which has more often than not served to ennoble man. We owe them a debt of gratitude, even if we know that their sayings bear examination as poetry and not as science.

§ 2. CREDULITY, PRUDERY, AND THE NATURE OF WOMAN

WE now come to another extremely important aspect of human nature: the effect which marriage and sexual relations have had upon our existence. For a sympathetic treatment of the origin and vagaries of the sexual impulse I must refer the interested reader to the profound works of Ellis, Bloch, Santayana, and the Fathers of the Church. It is a subject which may be treated freely in works of science, law, and theology, but not in works of history or morals. But it can hardly be avoided by whoever would understand either the one or the other, and therefore I must do my best to make clear a few relevant points.

¶ *Sexual seasons of the Eskimos*

It would appear that in the early days of man there was something resembling the pairing season of animals. It is on record that the Eskimos inhabiting the

country lying between the seventy-sixth and seventy-ninth parallels exhibit, at all events until recently, a distinct sexual season, which occurs with great intensity at the first appearance of the sun. Little else is thought of but sexual activities for some time afterwards; and the majority of the children are in consequence born nine months later. It is also recorded that the Hos in Chota Nagpur (according to Colonel Dalton) have every year a great feast in January, "when the granaries are full of grain, and the people, to use their own expression, full of devilry." They have a wonderful notion that at this period, men and women being so overcharged with vicious propensities, it is absolutely necessary *for the safety of the person* to let off steam by allowing for a time full vent to the sexual passion. The festival, therefore, becomes a saturnalia, during which servants forget their duty to their masters, children their reverence for parents, men for women, and women all notions of modesty, delicacy, and gentleness. Men and women become almost like animals in the naive and innocent indulgence of their amorous propensities; the utmost liberty is given to the girls. Westermarck reports stories about certain tribes or communities in Morocco, where people of both sexes are said to assemble at night in a mosque once every year. The lights are extinguished, everybody lies down, and the men and women who are lying nearest each other have sexual intercourse regardless of all ties of marriage and consanguinity.*

¶ *Was the primitive promiscuous?*

We do not know whether primitive man lived a life of utter promiscuity, as some writers assert, or whether he was monogamous. It is, however, certain that there is no part of the world within recorded history in

* I am indebted to Westermarck's monumental *History of Human Marriage* for the facts of this subject. C. D.

which formal marriage does not take place. The forms of marriage are innumerable, but it seems that marriage itself has little bearing upon the question of promiscuity; for there has never been and there is now no part of the world in which promiscuous intercourse does not take place. Polygamy, which still exists in Mohammedan, and certain other countries, has so many disadvantages that it tends to die out. Polyandry is unpopular both amongst club-bearers and check-writers. The common rule of life is one man for one woman; one partner at a time, even if it be short. Sex is responsible for many queer manifestations of human nature, which seem to have changed not at all regarding it. Westermarck remarks that in spite of the general economic progress, people have become more and more unwilling to venture upon marriage and that this is no doubt to some extent due to the ever-increasing standard of comfort among all classes, as well as to the increased cost of living in European countries, which has led either to a retardation or to an abandonment of marriages. In this respect there is a difference between different social classes. Professor Fahlbeck has found that among the Swedish nobility 43.17 per cent of the marriageable men and 46.15 of the marriageable women are unmarried, while the figures for the whole population of Sweden are only 31.42 and 31.54 respectively; and the number of unmarried persons has greatly increased in recent times. Generally speaking, the average age for marriage is more advanced among upper classes than among the lower ones. A "gentleman" before marrying thinks it necessary to have an income of which a mere fraction would suffice for a married workman. He has to offer his wife a home in accordance with her social position and his own; and unless she brings him some fortune, she contributes but little to the support of the family. Sweden is mentioned

in this example, because it is one of the most highly civilized countries in the modern world.

¶ *The chief objective of woman*

The London Daily Express in 1929 asked its women readers to give their choice of a career, and this was the final summing up:

Marriage	68	per cent
Homecraft	7	"
Nursing	6	"
Teaching	4.5	"
Secretarial	3	"
Routine, Factory	1.5	"
No Ideal Career	10	"

From this one may conclude that in England marriage, if not the most popular career for women, is one of their chief objectives. Marriage takes place at all ages, but in civilized countries seldom below sixteen in women and eighteen in men. As regards the age when marriages are concluded or consummated we are told that the Papuans of the Macleay Coast of New Guinea marry soon after they are circumcized, at an age between thirteen and fifteen; whereas among the inland tribes of Dutch New Guinea the men are said to marry comparatively late, living together as bachelors in the men's houses, and indulging there in homosexual orgies. In the Mekeo district of British New Guinea a boy may marry at the age of about thirteen and a girl at ten, but as a rule the youngest ages at which marriages are concluded would be more like eighteen for a boy and sixteen for a girl. In India child marriages have been common, and only recently have been made illegal by British ruling.

¶ *Explanation of coyness*

Coyness in the female may be regarded as a modified continuation of a previous absolute refusal of the sexual approaches of the male. The wise old Montaigne said

that nothing whets our taste so much as rarity and difficulty, and that the artifice of virgin modesty serves the object of increasing in us the desire to overcome all obstacles. Burdach made this observation the basis of a biological theory. He wrote that the male's endeavors to catch, overcome, and hold the resisting female make him more and more ardent and increase his fitness for procreation, while the physical and mental excitement of the female at the same time seems to promote her fecundity. Since the sex impulse must necessarily have extraordinary strength, the interests of the preservation of species are best served by a preliminary condition of excitement and by some checks to its discharge. The instinctive coyness of the female serves this purpose.

Among the Andamanese, "when the elders of the Sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to be married, the bride is taken to a newly made empty hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but, after some struggling and pretense at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit down on the bride's lap." This is the whole of the ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to, and are very shy of, each other, for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together. Among the Chiriguano of the Gran Chaco, who allow the greatest freedom in the relations between the sexes, Father Chome was struck by the propriety of their conversation and their behavior in general; he never heard an indecent word among them. But since they have had contact with civilization they are anything but modest in their speech. Hans Stade, who in the middle of the sixteenth century was a captive among the Tupinambase on the coast of Brazil, remarks that men and women "conduct themselves decently, and sleep with one another privately." The Indians of British Guiana consider it extremely in-

decent if a married couple show any signs of mutual affection in the presence of others.

¶ *The sport of darkness*

Regarding certain North American Indians I translate from one writer: "They dare not enter the huts where their wives live, except during the night; to do otherwise would be considered an extraordinary act." Among various other peoples it is considered indecent or is even prohibited to have sexual intercourse in the daytime. The night is also the time for courtship. An observer wrote of some Canadian Indians: "Nothing of intrigue or courtship must be *mentioned* to the savage ladies in the daytime, for they will not hear it; they'll tell you the nighttime is the most proper season for that. . . . This is a general rule, that whoever designs to win the affection of a girl, must speak to her in the daytime of things that lie remote from the intrigues of love." The Nagas in the southern mountains of Assam, according to a Persian historian of the seventeenth century, "go about naked like beasts, and do not mind to copulate with their women in the streets and the bazars, before the people and the chiefs"; yet the women covered their breasts. Of the Armenian damsels we are told that they acted as prostitutes for a long time before they were given in marriage. The Cyprian maidens, according to Justin, procured money for their marriage portions by prostituting themselves. The Amorite virgins had to "sit in fornication" seven days. In some provinces of Peru, says Garcilaso de la Vega, "the nearest relations of the bride and her most intimate friends had connection with her, and on this condition the marriage was agreed to, and she was thus received by the husband."

¶ *Women more obstinate than men*

Darwin has pointed out that among our domesticated quadrupeds individual antipathies and preferences are

exhibited much more commonly by the female than by the male; indeed, the male as a rule seems to be ready to pair with any female, provided she belongs to his own species. So also women seem generally to be more particular in their choice than men, when the union takes place without reference to interest. A Maori proverb says, "Let a man be ever so good-looking, he will not be much sought after; but let a woman be ever so plain, men will still eagerly seek after her." With regard to certain Negro tribes, Merolla da Sorrento wrote: "Women would have experience of their husbands before they married them, in like manner as the men, were to have of them; and in this particular I can aver that they are commonly much more obstinate or fickle than men, for I have known many instances in which the men were willing to be married, while the women held back, and either fled away or made excuses." In Morocco supernatural benefits are expected not only from heterosexual but also from homosexual intercourse with a holy person.

¶ *Real purpose of the fig leaf*

It is now common knowledge that the sexual relations of men and women have had an amazing influence upon clothing and adornment. We cannot tell whether the first clothing was designed for purposes of protection from the weather or for the attraction of the opposite sex, and it is more difficult still in this twentieth century for us to decide where the difference, if any, exists. The fig leaf, being almost useless as a means of concealment, was useful as an attraction to a region of great importance for the continuation of history. Shame is merely coquetry or a fear of causing disgust to those of a different sex; it is largely a product of civilization and a characteristic only of the clothed human being. In women it is actually an attraction to males, and well they know it.

¶ *The saint; often a nuisance*

Since the dawn of history there have been reformers, and for two thousand years there have been saints. They have not been entirely without effect on the development of human nature. Men are never saints until they are dead; and, if some people would have you believe that they are saints while they are yet alive, you should be on your guard: for it is not until they have departed this life, and then not always, that a just estimate of their value can be laboriously worked out. No kind of human being is more generally detested than a saint, who is often little better than a mere busybody bringing storms and disturbances into the even tenor of our ways; and forbidding us those little enjoyments which make life worth living. But, when the saint has been put out of the agony he suffers in regarding our sins, we can afford to be generous; and a halo costs us little. It is a healthy human and biological instinct in us which makes us torment saints while they are here; and a sense of natural justice which makes us render homage when it is not wanted or appreciated. Healthy women detest in their hearts the saintly man; they much prefer a rogue. Really good men are seldom successful with women. But rogues and vagabonds, stock-brokers and company promoters, murderers, soldiers, sex-bound sailors, robbers, pimps and ponces are more often than not very successful with the weaker sex, which admires their "strength."

The state of being head-over-heels in love never lasts long in men; though in women it may sometimes continue for a lifetime. This is an inheritance from the good old days of caves and clubs, when men would bash in the headpiece of their wives for gallivanting or showing signs of promiscuous tendencies. In nations where women to all intents and purposes rule men, promiscuity becomes almost the rule of life: in the

United States for example. England is almost equally a sexual paradise since women have won the right to vote and govern. When two young people marry for reasons of romantic love (that is to say, when the urge to appease the sexual appetite is so great that it overrules all other considerations) each one marries somebody unknown. For a person truly in love is insane as regards the loved one, and cannot judge the full nature and quality of the act of marriage. After a few years, or months, or weeks, or sometimes even days, one or the other of the partnership recovers his or her wits; and it is only the supremely wise or the supremely weak in character who can thereafter live any but a-cat-and-dog existence.

¶ *The happy marriage*

One would therefore conclude that two persons head-over-heels in love ought not to marry, and if they only were concerned this would be right. But it is almost a law of nature that the best stock comes from the young people who are frantically in love with one another; and it is this bigger aspect of the question, nature's effort to perpetuate the species in the best possible biological conditions, which finally decides the right or the wrong of love marriages. Experience proves that the happiest marriages are those in which the husband possesses in a greater degree than the wife one or both of the two qualities which make men excel their fellows: strength and cunning, or, as some will have it, intelligence, and at the same time the wife possesses the quality of adhesion, or a good sense of economic values.* The woman who is a flirt and the man who is a libertine are of the same type, generally insincere hypocrites. This is and always has been well known to everybody with a trifle of worldly wisdom. One might conclude that such men would be avoided by women, and

* See: *The Art of Making a Perfect Husband*. Anon.

such women would be avoided by men. Nothing is further from the truth. Men run after the woman who is known to be a great flirt, and women pay homage to the libidinous gentleman. The reasons are fairly obvious: the desire of both men and women to have entire possession of that which, for the moment, appears to be common property. Sex being the impelling power, the hypocrisy is overlooked, as it is in life generally.

Bachelors are either those men who know too much or those who know too little. Spinsters are those women who are either unattractive or who, being possessed of remarkable insight, prefer to live without ties. Bachelors and spinsters are timid. They fear something which cannot always be defined: but it is seldom selfishness, as is often alleged, which causes them to retain their liberty. The pretty woman is a born actress, and can generally deceive any man she wishes to deceive, because he nearly always likes being deceived; and when he realizes that he is being deceived he often deceives the woman by pretending that he is not being deceived. It is the prerogative of the pretty woman to deceive men; and herself to be deceived by those who are not deceived by her.

Women hate women more than men hate men. There will always be wars until men can persuade women to become soldiers and go to war. If this can be done on the grand scale there is some hope that such a war will really end war, or at least it will leave the world in peace for a longer period than has ever before existed between wars. Women would not go to war so readily as men. But once let them start and . . . the worst frightfulness of the World War will appear as an act of benevolence. The reason women hate women more than men hate men is because they see more clearly through each other, a fact which has so often been demonstrated that we may now take it for granted.

¶ *Sexual wisdom of the Latins*

In Anglo-Saxon countries we assume that all young boys and girls are innocent of sexual matters and perfectly pure in heart and mind. The Latins and other races are wiser in this respect. In France, Italy, and Spain, it is taken for granted that if freedom is given to girls in adolescence they will test out certain physical theories which they seem to inherit quite naturally, and acquire wisdom by experiment. With boys this is all a part of their education; but with girls it is not so, because chastity, if it be guaranteed, lowers the amount of dower payable by parents at marriage. The inevitable result of this is that those Latin parents who wish to make good marriages for their daughters take precautions, without which French, Spanish, and Italian girls might have the same encyclopedic knowledge of sexual matters as their British and American sisters. Furthermore, the men of these Latin countries, having a fair amount of freedom in their youth, of which full advantage is taken, end by behaving more reasonably throughout their married life than English and American "sugar daddies." Both have much wisdom to learn from the East as regards the finer feelings of hospitality in sexual matters, where a husband may, in order to honor his guest, lend him a wife for so long as he is under the same roof. It is a lesson in unselfishness which we occidentals have still to learn. Conjugal fidelity, though admired among civilized races, is seldom assured.

The question we have to consider here is: has there been any change in the nature of woman? Fundamentally, no. The popularity of the caveman is still as great as it ever was in the history of the race. After Carnera, the giant Italian "boxer," had won his match against Stribling on a foul, he was bombarded with letters from women who were agonized and tormented by

unsatisfied desire. The London Sunday Despatch reported that the pugilist suffered from shyness and, it seems, did not quite know how to deal with his fifty to one hundred daily correspondents of the fair sex, even although some of them sent him their photographs. To quote a lady admirer, "In the eyes of a woman this Goliath of the Ring is neither a fearsome brute nor a repulsive bruiser." So that's that. But it does not mean that the modern "caveman" need be outwardly brutal like his early ancestor or the contemporary Carnera. He is expected to be electric, and dynamic, and he must be self-confident. Granted these qualities and a moderate physical equipment, the cave-man may still offer as much attraction as he did in the past, and the chief reason for this is that most women inwardly enjoy being mastered; although the question also presents itself as to whether they do not in the end themselves obtain what is the real mastery.

¶ *Is woman less intelligent than man?*

Professor A. M. Low informs us that it will be centuries before woman approaches man in intelligence. "She has only had about fifty years of education. Man is superior even in domestic accomplishments, such as cooking. Woman will have to change physically, and assume some of man's physical characteristics. Till then she will never catch up with him in intellect. In this lies, I think, the only hope of human salvation, if we are to judge intellect by scientific achievement." I am not sure that Professor Low is right, or that it would be beneficial to human nature if women were equal to men in intellectual achievements. But I have given his opinion, though it differs from mine and is, I think, rather naive. The chief characteristic of men is acknowledged to be selfishness, but there is a whisper abroad that woman is unselfish by nature. This is, of course, a cunning lie spread by

the female human being for her own protection; one of the many smoke screens she uses to deceive her male victims. In order to gain her ends by the way of least resistance she pretends to be unselfish and indeed gives many examples of unselfishness. Have you ever observed the malevolent delight with which one of two women friends will talk about the good points of her pretty frock when she knows perfectly well that the other cannot afford to buy one quite as good?

This digression may now, I think, be usefully ended, —to give place to more serious matters.

§ 3. THE PHENICIANS

WE now come to that part of human history in which tribes and clans became nations. To trace this through every phase in its development is impossible, but it is necessary for us to give careful consideration to those races and nations whose activities are known to have had a profound effect upon human nature. Of Assyria, Babylonia, and the early empires of Mesopotamia, little is yet known for certain. We have already seen that it was in this part of the world in which man first discovered the cereal plants; and we have seen how they changed his nature. In regard to the more complex civilizations which grew out of the agricultural and pastoral existence of man in the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates, we may summarize their effect upon human nature by saying that they gave us a host of myths and legends which became interwoven with our religion, and in some cases, were responsible for great wars and rumors of wars. The Holy Trinity, for example, originated in this part of the world. Three thousand years after its

discovery it was the cause of many grave and bloody disputes among Christian churches. But it was to two other peoples that some of the greatest changes in human nature must be attributed: The Egyptians, to whom I shall refer later, and the Phenicians, who may conveniently be mentioned now.

† *Influence of the boat*

It is perhaps necessary, first of all, to say something about the origin of the boat, for it was the boat, together with an almost equally important invention, the steering-oar, that was responsible for the success of the Phenicians; and hence their great importance. Boats are known to have existed beyond recorded history. They exist among primitive races today: in the frozen North, amongst the Fuegians, in Australia, in the center of Africa, boats or rafts are in daily use. It is possible and probable that the primitive boat was propelled by poling or paddling. Rowing was a great advance, and extended the scope of the navigation. But the invention of the sail, which I think may have been slightly ahead of that of the steering-oar, was a considerable improvement. The earliest pictorial monuments of Egypt, dating back over three thousand years, show us boats with crews paddling. There appears to be no record of any of these Egyptian navigators ever having attempted to make their way into the Mediterranean. As a race, the Egyptians are interesting in many ways, but they cannot be considered to have been venturesome; indeed they were extremely conservative in nearly all things. It is possible that in very early times wanderers from the Phenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Damascus may have journeyed into Egypt and observed the boats on the great river. The possibility of trade with the West showed itself to the Phenicians who had reached the banks of the Nile. By means of shipping they could explore the Mediter-

anean, and their business instinct was supported by an amazing ingenuity for ship-building and navigation. They became explorers and navigators because they were traders. They were traders because they liked to accumulate wealth in its already very old form of gold.

¶ *Beginning of the gold standard*

To the Phenicians must be attributed the great honor of having consolidated the gold standard; although the earliest actual coinage of which we know, was made by Cræsus in Lydia about twenty-five hundred years ago. The Phenicians did most of their trading by means of gold-dust, nuggets, ingots, or articles made of gold. To accumulate quantities of this substance they made long and truly perilous voyages, resulting in the establishment of colonies along the North African coast. Later, in 800 B.C., the colony of Carthage, founded by Tyre, became the greatest maritime power the world had hitherto seen. The original efforts of the Phenicians to increase their trade developed, in the colony of Carthage, into the desire for maritime power; in precisely the same manner as nearly two thousand years later the early British Colonial Empire and naval power grew from the desire for increasing foreign trade. The little colony of Carthage became a great city with a population of a million souls; the largest single unit of humanity that had hitherto been known to exist on earth.

¶ *Pirates the first navy*

Carthage claimed the whole of the western Mediterranean, and organized piratical raids on the ships of other nations, just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ships of England were sent abroad to pillage the galleons of Spain, or to seize what land or property they could find. One of the Carthaginian navigators, Captain Hanno, in 460 B.C. sailed out of Car-

thage, venturing into the hitherto unsailed ocean west of the Straits of Gibraltar. Hence he pursued his way toward Liberia with his fleet of sixty large ships. He founded a settlement in the Rio de Oro, the Golden River, whose name explains the landing and settlement of Carthaginians at that spot. Hence they went beyond the Gambia, and landed at some place on the West Coast of Africa. They were frightened away by what seems to have been merely a religious ceremony of the natives; one accompanied by fire, and the music of tom-toms. Not only were the Phenicians and Carthaginians navigators in their own cause, but they were willing to hire themselves out to other nations. Herodotus tells us that Pharaoh Necho commissioned in 609 B.C. a group of Phenician navigators to attempt the circumnavigation of Africa. The story is that they succeeded, taking nearly three years for their voyage; an astounding achievement for that age.

Although trade existed in many parts of the world before the days of the Phenicians—we know of a Sumerian trade of some importance in ancient Babylonia—the palm for ability in trade at that period must be given to this race or people. They were a branch of the Semitic race; a kind of Jews.

¶ *The Semitic sense of equivalents*

To the Semitic race must also be given the palm for accountancy, measuring, and weighing. It was they who first showed that very strong sense for equivalents, which is mostly responsible for their material success in the world. The Jew still attaches almost a sentimental value to a bargain; and he prefers to do business with little or no profit, rather than remain idle. Business for business's sake is the spirit in which the Jew has always treated his occupation on this earth. To him it is an art for art's sake. The Jews are sentimentalists and probably in the present generation the wisest

people on earth. It is customary to regard them as cowards and great sufferers from physical fear. This is wrong. They are not physical cowards but merely hypersensitive and highly intelligent. In proportion to their numbers you will find as many brave men among the Jews as among any race. Jewish thought has in some matters reached further than the thought of other human beings, and this is because they are continually meditating on the unknown. Jews discovered sin and God; a Jew evolved the theory of relativity. Many of the most beautiful flights of higher mathematics and science are the work of Jews, and by obtaining control of those fictitious tokens called money, they have achieved a power in the world which makes the most powerful governments bow before them, and the most haughty aristocrats to lick their boots. These few facts are sufficiently cogent to explain why the Jews are still a hated race and may one day suffer extermination at the hands of their far less intelligent but nevertheless not unpractical fellow men. By means of dogmatic assertions the Jews have reduced great doubt in the minds of men on subjects as widely different as the existence of God, the value of money, and the constitution of the atom.

¶ *Human standard of living raised*

The importance of the Phenicians in human history is briefly this: *They raised the standard of living over the greater part of the known world.* They encouraged the desire for comfort and luxury. They spread a knowledge of their alphabet, one of the finest achievements of the human mind. They taught our ancestors bookkeeping, accountancy, the use of money and equivalents. They invented credit. They worked out the principles of trade, and infused a new ideal into the minds of men. They set up the god of commerce and made a code of commercial morality. Being a material-

istic, energetic race with a genius for navigation, they did not hesitate to explore unknown regions. Their talent for commercial enterprise was so advantageous to other peoples that for a long time they did not need to wage war. It will be noticed that the Phenician contribution to human history has had lasting and far-reaching effects. From their time to the present day commercial enterprise has never ceased; it is even extending. The empire of the Phenicians was one of sea-coast, and this was its weakness. Their only great rivals were their pupils the Greeks, who built ships on the Phenician model and showed their masters that kidnapping and piracy were a game at which two could play. The merchant kings who possessed the greater part of the commercial world were too wise to stake their prosperity on a single province. They retired from Greece and its islands, and the western coast of Asia Minor and the margin of the Black Sea. They allowed the Greeks to take the southern part of Italy, and the eastern half of Sicily, and did not molest their isolated colonies, Cyrene in Africa and Marseilles in southern Gaul.

¶ *Sad end of the Phenicians*

But the Greeks supplanted them entirely. The Phenicians found it cheaper to pay tribute than to go to war, and submitted to the emperor of Syria for the time being, sending their money with equal indifference to Nineveh or Memphis. When the empire was disputed they were compelled to choose a side. They chose the wrong one, and Tyre and Jerusalem were demolished. Phenicia declined in the East; Carthage was rising in the West. We shall see later the part that Carthage was destined to play, but in the meantime let it not be forgotten that this city, which later all but caused the downfall of Rome, was the child of Phenicia, the motherland which had succumbed to the

warriors from the East. The Phenicians, having made the fatal mistake of trusting too far to the peacefulness of men, paid the inevitable penalty of downfall.

¶ *Invention of writing*

By this time one more weighty factor is added to those which influenced the development and change of human nature from the primitive to modern man. Above all those qualities, which were engendered by the commercial activities of the Phenicians, there stands out one of paramount importance. It is fairly modern in the sense that it occurred within the last five thousand years; its influence has extended from that day to the present, and is not yet by any means ended. I refer to writing.* We may abandon to the experts the decision as to whether writing was first actually invented by the Chinese, the Sumerians, or the Egyptians. For practical purposes we must attach ourselves to that form of writing which we know came to Phenicia from Sumeria. In this part of the world learned men had evolved a system of perpetuating their ideas by a form of picture-writing upon slabs of clay which were afterwards baked hard. Originally they wrote with styles, which, by a process of evolution and for purposes of speed, became wedge-shaped. They used pictographs or a form of picture writing similar to that found among tribes of Indians on the American continent. They also used ideograms, a pictorial representation of an object to convey another idea, as we ourselves use the word "tongue" to express "language" or "dialect." The evolution of graphic symbolism had begun. In ideogrammatic writing, language or dialect might be expressed by a pictorial representation of a tongue. The Sumerians also used phonograms, a more complex idea, which is the basis of Chinese writing. One sign would be used as a basis for a number of ideas, each of which

* See H. G. Wells, *An Outline of History*.

would be distinguished from the others by some slight, or even diminutive modification of the basic sign. The Sumerians must have been a people of amazing ingenuity for, in using these three methods of reducing ideas to permanent records, they covered practically the whole of human thought concerning writing. They went further, for they evolved from pictograms, ideograms, and phonograms a further development which is called syllabic writing; that is the representation graphically of a spoken syllable. This form of writing is still used in Japan, in conjunction with and parallel to the Chinese method.

The system of writing thus evolved by the Sumerians spread over the whole of the Near East; Assyria, Chaldea, Babylonia. And then the Semitic race of Phenicians in their travels eastward, first for purposes of trade, and then in the manner of the later Carthaginians, for purposes of conquest, took over what must appear to them to have been a marvelously useful system of recording business transactions. They, in turn, set their ingenuity to work, and now we meet with another of those unknown men of genius whose work has affected the whole history of the world, and been responsible for a considerable development of the human mind. This unnamed genius was the Phenician merchant-scholar who conceived the idea of *alphabetic* writing. Among the earliest records of this convenient alphabetic writing are to be found accounts, business letters, itineraries, lists of customers for business transactions, and handy medical prescriptions for the cure of those common ailments which follow the human animal everywhere and at all times.

¶ *The fixation of tradition*

Henceforward verbal tradition began to be fixed: thoughts could be communicated over unlimited distances; and henceforward increasing numbers of

human beings were able to share the best and the worst of such knowledge as existed. It was the beginning of standardized thinking. Wells says: "*Human thinking became a larger operation in which hundreds of minds in different places, and in different ages, could react upon one another; it became a process constantly more continuous and sustained. . . . From the first writings onward a new sort of tradition, an enduring and immortal tradition, began in the minds of men. Life, through mankind, grew thereafter more and more distinctly conscious of itself and the world.*" Surely this was the most momentous event in the history of human nature!

Although writing was first used for commonplace affairs of life, for business transactions, medical prescriptions, and so forth, it was also used in the formulation of the first legal systems. Law, originating in custom based upon the convenience and comfort of the tribe, had existed from the time of the primitive. With the development of the road and the growth of cities and commerce it became more complex; and was an essential in the preservation of order, the repression of masses to strengthen the authority of kings and priests. It was therefore well mixed with religion, and, although it often courted those Invisible and Intangible Things which have shown themselves to have had so great an influence, it has always remained fairly close to the soil, materialistic and realistic, with the chameleonlike quality of changing its color to suit the background of power. As we shall see later, Roman law upheld by the legions of the emperors, was the chain which bound the world for many hundreds of years.

¶ *First great code of laws*

Thanks to writing we are able to tell more or less the habits of the men and women who lived under the old Babylonian Empire of nearly five thousand years

ago. A block of black diorite nearly eight feet high, discovered by the French archeologist de Morgan in 1902, contains the oldest known code of laws in the world: the Code of Hammurabi. With the exception of a number of clauses pertaining to Invisible and Intangible Things, it is remarkably modern in its tone; so much so that it raises once more in our minds that great question as to whether there has really been any considerable change in human nature. The code, it is believed, antedated that of the Pentateuch by at least a thousand years; and formed the basis of Babylonian legislation under a king whose rule extended from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. This code of laws is the starting point of all classified and regulated legislation known in history. It begins with the same formula which precedes nearly all our modern legislation: a preamble, glorifying the ruler or supreme authority, verging into a description of the general purpose for which the law is conceived, and giving a brief outline of its contents. In some respects it was far in advance of modern legislation: for example, it held a physician to be responsible for the life of his patient. Again, it emphasized the importance of putting everything in writing; the agent who obtained goods from a merchant and who had no document to show the nature of the transaction could claim no legal aid in case of disagreement. The idea of "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," the chief principle of all Jewish law, was practiced to its logical extreme. Punishment was made to balance crime to such an extent that if the ceiling of a jerry-built house collapsed and injured the owner, the builder received an equivalent punishment. If the owner was killed, the builder was put to death; if the owner's son were killed or injured, the builder's son received his proportion of punishment, or was executed. Furthermore, "a woman who wants a divorce, if she

can show fault in her husband may take her marriage portion and go home; but if the fault be hers she shall be thrown into the water." Is there any such justice in Europe or the United States today? Again, "if anyone has taken a wife and a sickness has seized her, and if his face is set toward taking another wife, he may take that other wife, but may not repudiate that one whom sickness has seized; as long as she lives he shall support her." There are regulations concerning slaves which were *far more humane* than the regulations imposed upon modern slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. There are elaborate provisions for the protection of honest debtors, such as may well make us moderns feel thoroughly ashamed. The laws concerning physicians and veterinary surgeons show a keen sense of reality. Thus, if a doctor used the wrong kind of lancet or treatment upon a slave, thereby causing the death of that slave, he must return to the owner one equally as good. "If the veterinary surgeon has treated an ox or an ass for a severe wound, and has caused its death, he shall pay one-fourth of its price to the owner." . . . "If any person without the consent of the owner of a slave has branded the slave with an indelible mark, he shall lose one hand." . . . "If a man has forced an ox to labor too hard, he shall be fined." . . . "If anyone has struck a free-born woman, and thereby caused her to bring forth a premature child, he shall pay ten shekels of silver to the woman; but if the woman dies, one shall put his daughter to death. . . ."

¶ *How writing may imprison the mind*

From writing, to the provision of a means of preserving the ideas of writers, is not a great step. We have seen that the first books were bricks. Every word was written separately upon soft clay, and the whole was baked into a hard mass. These original books are to be

found in all parts of the Near East. Printing as we know it is said to have been invented by the Chinese; and also the making of dictionaries. About three thousand years ago there was a standard dictionary of the Chinese language containing about forty thousand characters. That dictionary was largely responsible for the astonishing conservatism shown by the Chinese throughout history. The complexity of the Chinese language, mostly due to the utter lack of that originality which we have noted amongst the Sumarians, coupled with its fixation in an elaborate dictionary, and afterwards perpetuated in the classical literature, were responsible for an imprisonment of the Chinese mind. No nation on earth has less changed in the nature of its individuals than the Chinese. Reading and writing became a privilege to be gained only by long study and limited to a special class. At a time when the Near East and Europe in the west were being tamed, chiefly by the spread of knowledge through the written word, the masses of Chinese depended entirely upon oral tradition, springing from the teachings of a very few philosophers who had mastered the intricate art of reading and writing their complex script. From the facts to be presented in later parts of this book the reader may have cause to speculate whether the written word has had really so great an influence upon human nature as the above pages may have led us to suppose.

§ 4. THE EGYPTIANS

REFERENCE has already been made to the influence of the surface configuration of the earth upon human nature. It would be impossible to give all the instances there are of this fact; and it seems almost

too obvious in importance to be worth more than a passing remark. It happens, however, that we have in the history of Egypt one of the finest examples possible of what a river can be to the rise, progress, and even decline of a whole race of people.

We must think of old Egypt as a somewhat secluded country. It lies almost across one of the highways of the modern world, that leading from England to India and the East. But we first see Egypt on the dim horizon of recorded history hidden and encircled by mountains, deserts, and the Mediterranean Sea, all of which were avoided by contemporary peoples. A country so shut off from the rest of the world became for many hundreds of years, impervious to any outside influences.

¶ *Influence of a river*

Down the center of this secluded land, of which the climate was and is perhaps the most perfect on earth, there runs the great river Nile. In this singular river valley it was easier for men to live and thrive than in almost any other part of the world. One cannot think of Egypt without at the same time thinking of the river which made it. Every year the Nile overflowed its banks, fertilizing the fields, and so the Egyptian, by virtue of his river, climate, the nature of his soil, and above all, because of his river, became a settled husbandman and agriculturist. He was spared the disquietude and hardships of a hunting existence. Not only was there no need for him to be a nomad, but he had every inducement to remain where he was. And it so happened that the early men who found themselves in Egypt—whence they came we do not know more than that it was probably from Asia, perhaps from the Gobi—became rooted in their land. Life was so easy that they had not only an abundance of wealth from little effort, but a great deal of spare time on their hands. Hence it was that they were able to think, to

give time to the development of the arts and sciences; to evolve highly sophisticated theories regarding the hereafter and regarding the nature, habits, and influences of a host of gods and devils. From the very earliest time from which records or legends survive, when Egyptian husbandmen went about naked and painted their bodies with green pigment, they possessed kings and priests, noblemen who controlled the land by a system not unlike feudalism. In the center of every village there stood one hut larger than all the others, with wattled walls, and an elaborately adorned entrance. Inside there was an image in wood of the god most favored by that particular neighborhood, and there would always be a man of superior intelligence to tend the god and opportunely to interpret his wise edicts to the silly common people. These spiritual leaders of the old Egyptians, several thousand years before the Christian era, were already fairly enlightened. They divided their country into two kingdoms, which were united by the political astuteness of King Menes about sixty-five hundred years ago. To this man also is ascribed the foundation of Memphis, the capital and general headquarters of the artizan god Ptah. Menes was a warrior, a politician, and a priest! but he nevertheless met with an untimely and unspiritual death in the jaws of a hippopotamus during a campaign against a neighboring people.

¶ *The material value of mystical knowledge*

In these early periods of Egyptian history the priests labored unceasingly in behalf of their people. They investigated problems of science, and in 4366 B.C. an important work on anatomy was said to have been written. They made religion not only mysterious but *magnificent*—an amazingly astute move. They were keen students of astronomy, and in the course of centuries they mapped out the heavens. By means of this knowledge

of astronomy, of which the masses of the people knew nothing, and were permitted to know nothing, the priests could foretell eclipses of the moon, and the rising of the tide. They gained immense prestige from knowing the precise hour at which the Nile would overflow its banks. By a careful observation of meteorological facts they could give a very good idea of the weather; a far better one than our meteorological office can give today. Nearly all the learning of Egypt reposed in this priestly class, which became more powerful from day to day until eventually they and the government were one. It was to the priests also that came the idea of writing, and they were responsible for a system of hieroglyphics capable of expressing subtle, abstract ideas. It was the priests also who thought out a system of government which would keep the lower laboring classes in a state of utter subjection and at the same time stimulate them to work diligently for the benefit of the king and state. We find their sound ideas echoing down the ages, even to those inspiring and beautiful words which, in the Book of Common Prayer of the State Church in England, tell me—

“To honour and obey the King and all that are put in authority under him: to submit myself to all my governours, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters . . . and . . . to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.”

These doctrines, inspired by the Invisible and Intangible, and backed by prisons, thumbscrews, bludgeons, truncheons, machine-guns, poison gas, hangmen, soldiers, police, law and magnificence, pomp and cere-

mony, dignity and piety— But I shall not spoil it by unnecessary comment. You have heard it before.

¶ *Beginning of organized war*

The old kingdom disintegrated and collapsed, but in the third millennium B.C. Egypt became once more united under a single sovereign; and it was this Middle Kingdom, as it is called, which became the great period in Egyptian history and the one which showed most effect upon, and indeed some changes in, human nature. It was during this period that the ennobling influence of war, in the truly modern sense of the word, showed itself more markedly than ever before in history. This is not to say that war had never before existed; but it was a small affair of families or tribes against other small groups of more or less the same size. Now we see for the first time a well-organized army, officered by men of an educated and aristocratic type, and working out its plans scientifically. Tactics and strategy entered into higher education. Egyptian arms now flowed into remote lands; Nubia was turned into a vassal province, and the gold of its desert swept into the coffers of the Pharaohs. A busy commerce began with the Mediterranean countries and with the Phenicians. For two hundred years great progress was made in the arts and sciences; this was the classic period of Egyptian literature. As inevitably happens when a nation grows rich (and indeed it often also happens to the individual) a period of laziness followed. A decadence and degeneration set in, and we must move ahead for fifteen hundred years, that is until about thirty-five hundred years ago, before we find Egypt again a really prosperous kingdom. The art of war was again developed and in 1530 B.C. we come across for the first time in history, an idea which has remained down to this twentieth century; the ideal of conquest and *world power*.

¶ *Two Sister Arts discovered*

The reign of Tuthmosis III was notable for a vast development in the two sister arts which we find so often walking sweetly hand in hand: War and Religion. Great territories in Asia were subdued, and the first great empire of the world came into existence. It was now that the soul of man was first found to be immortal; it was now that an ingenious priestly explorer discovered Hell. No earlier mention of these two factors in human nature can be found anywhere in history. To the Egyptians must be given the honor of these two great discoveries, whose influence upon the trend of events and the nature of man are to be found in almost every part of the world today. At this period the most powerful section of the community was undoubtedly the priesthood, which included not only the ministers of religion but also the civil service and liberal professions. Priests were chroniclers, keepers of records, engravers of inscriptions, physicians of the sick, embalmers of the dead, lawyers and lawgivers, sculptors and musicians. Labor was under their control; in their hands were factories and public works. Key posts in the army, that is all those requiring higher education, were supplied by them. The clergy preserved the monopoly of the arts which they had invented; the whole intellectual life of Egypt was in them. It was they who judged the living and the dead, enacted laws which extended beyond the grave, who issued passports to the place above or the place below.

Under the admirable instruction of those pious and enlightened men, the Egyptians became a prosperous and a moral people. Monumental paintings reveal their whole life, but we read in them no brutal or licentious scenes, because they well knew what ideas to perpetuate and what to suppress. Indeed the absence of unpleasantness in their art is so complete that one can only

explain its omission as deliberate; from which its actual existence in real life may safely be inferred.

¶ *A monument to pride*

We may now turn to the religion of the Egyptians, and consider a few of its more important aspects. We have seen how the priestly class were almost entirely responsible for the greatness of Egypt, for its prosperity, its discipline, its knowledge, its art, and its great architecture. The first temples were actually designed by priests; the earliest really important architect of whom there is record was Imhotep who lived about 3000 B.C. Although the pyramids were built for the Pharaohs the inspiration behind them was in nearly every case priestly. An idea of the immensity of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh may be gathered from the fact that it is a solid mass of masonry covering thirteen acres containing 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, each weighing on an average two and one-half tons. The building was 481 feet high; the sides at the base measure 755 feet. One hundred thousand men worked at it for twenty years. It presents many great problems to the world, not least of which is this: Was it an ingenious method invented by the Pharaoh Cheops to solve the pressing unemployment problem, or was it merely an edifice to human pride and selfishness as exemplified in his own personality? Both factors may take their place side by side to account for the building of this immense pyramid.

¶ *Influence of the hereafter on the here*

This was the beginning of that system of morality based upon rewards and punishments in the hereafter, which spread itself eastward and profoundly affected the laws and religion of the Jewish races, the chief concepts of the Christian and other religions: Be good here, and you will be well treated after death; do evil here and you will have a hot time. In order that full

weight might be given to the system, and that there should exist powers and authorities capable of fulfilling it, it was necessary for the Egyptian priests to invent a number of symbols representing the powers of the unseen world of the day. They had a multiplicity of gods, among whom Osiris was king of the other world and supreme judge of the dead. He was given a wife Isis, and he had a son named Horus; his chief enemy was Set, who still exists as Satan. Every city, town, village, and district of Egypt possessed a god of its own, and the Egyptians always had the sense of generosity and decency to provide him with a wife; and they added, chiefly for the benefit of the ladies, to each god's wife a son. Another very important deity, important in the sense that he ruled the destiny of each season's crops, was Ra, the sun god.

There were altogether at least two thousand gods in Egyptian history. Eventually almost anything could be a god; cats, snakes, crocodiles, and birds became sacred beings worshiped by the superstitious masses. Upon these masses a fat tribute was levied by their priestly entertainers, by whom an atmosphere of terror and a sense of awe was created. Wonderful and mystic ceremonies were performed in the temples; Egyptian magic became famous throughout the world, and its influence lasted long, as we see in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, and in our temples today. The attendants of the gods now lived sensuous lives in sanctuaries into which no layman might enter. A series of curses and anathemas were drawn up, to be exuded by the earthly representatives of gods upon the heads of those ignorant or impious people who failed to attend to their religious duties, or to prepare their minds to ask for exemption by means of a stiff payment in kind. Men and women were damned and blasted, terrified and harrowed. The good Egyptian priests pointed out to

their clients that it was then (as it is now) a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living god. "He shall pour down rain upon the sinners, snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest; this shall be their portion to drink. . . . A terrible voice of most just judgment, be pronounced upon them, when it shall be said unto them, Go, ye cursed, into the fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." And so on.

¶ *Akhnaton discovers our God*

It is, however, to an Egyptian king who reigned from 1375 to 1358 B.C. that we must give the honor for what was long considered to be the greatest discovery in the whole history of the world. For the confused and un-elevating religion consisting in the superstitious worship of crocodiles, parrots, etc., this king substituted the worship of Aton the god of the Solar Disc. The temples of all the other gods were closed, and the very names of the gods obliterated. Amenhotep IV, or Akhnaton as he was afterwards called, this very important king, conceived the god Aton as a kind father to all, to be worshiped at sunrise and sunset; a more refined and philosophical worship was introduced. The milder and more humane aspect of the sun was stressed, and cruelty was concealed. The number of priests was reduced and religious ceremonies simplified; psalm singing and prayer became the order of the day. No graven image of Aton was permitted to be made. The new god was formless, a divine Essence permeating space, with only a benevolent mission and influence. Flinders Petrie says: "How much Akhnaton understood we cannot say, but he had certainly bounded forward in his views and symbolism to a position which we cannot logically improve upon at the present day. Not a rag of superstition or falsity can be found clinging to this new worship." We have already seen that the Egyptians were respon-

sible some time about 1530 B.C. for the discovery (a) of the immortality of the soul, (b) of Hell; and now we may add (c) the discovery of our own God. The date of this last-named very important discovery being in the reign of Amenhotep IV, or Akhnaton, round about 1370 B.C.

In the later history of Egypt, when that country came under Greek domination, we find established at Alexandria a library of seven hundred thousand volumes. Here was assembled the classified knowledge of the world; and here hundreds of copyists worked transmitting to papyrus the literary heritage of the past. But of this we shall see something when we consider Greek thought and its influence on human nature.

¶ *Our debt to Egypt*

What is our debt to the Egyptians? The discovery of the immortality of the soul, the discovery of Hell, the discovery of God. Are there any three ideas which have more influenced the lives of men in the last three thousand years, the period of the world with which we are most acquainted? Have these ideas changed human nature? To all three ideas there has been attached an immense amount of speculative energy, resulting in some of the most sublime thoughts of the human mind, embodied in the greatest literature. We shall see how these three ideas spread eastward, and attached themselves to various teachers. To these fundamental doctrines others were added, the result being first the development of Judaism, then Buddhism, then Christianity, then Mohammedanism. In the Far East we shall see the rise and spread of another set of ideas, originally shorn of the concept of life after death, the immortality of the soul, and so forth. From Egypt also there spread to Greece, by way of the Phenician traders, the same ideas; they attached themselves to Greek philosophy, and were again the subject of endless debate and

were responsible for the works of some of the greatest philosophers. The humanitarian ideas of Akhnaton trickled through the darkness, transmitted here and there by an intelligent, contemplative Phenician trader, until at last we get God, the Father of the Book of Genesis, as well as the possibly older gods of Babylon and Assyria. Christianity and Mohammedanism spring from precisely the same ideas as those of the old Egyptian religion: Immortality in Heaven or Hell, with either rewards or punishments hereafter, but with a difference in Mohammedanism, which conceived it necessary to cater to the stronger sexual impulse of the Near Easterners. This religion provides for men a paradise of sexy chorus girls with dark eyes, beautiful lips, and curves pleasing to the eye; and a paradise of handsome, warm, brave, strong, and generous sheiks for the benefit hereafter of those women who observe its laws.

§ 5. THE TAMING OF EASTERN MAN

ABOUT the founder of Buddhism much is known: there is a mass of legend concerning his existence even greater than that which surrounds the origin of other great teachers. He was born toward the end of the sixth century B.C. in a small tribal community in Nepal. His father was a member of an important clan called Sakya, and the child was named Siddhartha Gautama.

¶ *A doubtful conception*

According to legend his conception was immaculate, but of this we westerners cannot (as in the case of Our Lord Jesus) be sure. There is nothing to distinguish the first twenty-eight years of his life from the same period in that of other young men who were sons of minor chiefs. Indians call him "prince," and he was a prince

if the ruler of a clan may be called a king. One thing is fairly certain: his parents were comfortably situated and probably even wealthy, so that young Gautama was short of nothing necessary to material comfort in this world. Whether he lived a life of absolute or dissolute luxury, as some writers assert, is another matter. In Nepal, as in most other parts of the world at that period, the chief amusements of such young men as Gautama were the chase of animals and maidens. He was married at the comparatively advanced age of nineteen to a very sweet girl; his family provided him with a good home, land, and indeed all that he could desire. No doubt he also acquired a fair amount of property as dower on his marriage.

There is a story (in which there may be some truth) that with the son of a neighboring rajah he was spending more time in the company of ladies than was seemly even in a warm clime in those liberal times; and his relatives, jealous of the boy's pleasure, began to complain to his father. Gautama, being told of this, appointed a day to prove his skill against all comers and, by surpassing even the cleverest bowmen and showing his mastery in the Twelve Arts, won back the good opinion of the people. Be this as it may, in his twenty-ninth year our young man turned his thoughts to the study of religion and philosophy. We are informed that the Deity appeared to him in four visions: in the form of a man broken by age, then of a sick man, then of a putrefying corpse, and finally of a dignified hermit. Regarding each one of the first three, his cheery companion said to him, "To this we must all come," but when the fourth appeared Gautama saw a possibility of avoiding the mental evils that are associated with the first three. A desire to become a hermit and to live a life of solemn meditation seized upon Gautama. He returned to inform his parents and fellow clansmen,

who received the news with great rejoicing. A dinner, followed by a dance, was given to celebrate the religious conversion of this good young man. We are told that late in the night, when the celebrations of the evening were ended and the hired cabaret dancers were sleeping on the veranda, he called his cab-driver and told him to harness the household mare. Creeping softly to the threshold of his wife's bedroom he peeped in and saw her sleeping with their recently born child in her arms. He overcame the desire to kiss them good-by (selfishness on behalf of the good of his soul overcoming his feelings of humanity), and he put the temptation to gratify his wife to one side, stalking boldly out of the house. Channa, his faithful cab-driver (charioteer, the legends picturesquely call him), was waiting outside to take him into the wilderness.

¶ *Buddha meets the Devil*

We are informed how at that point the old evil spirit, the Devil, came and pleaded with him to return to the bosom of his family. "Return," said old Clootie, "take your place in the family and wait your turn for chieftainship, when I will make you king of kings. Do otherwise and be damned, for I shall never cease from following your footsteps. Lust or malice or anger will betray you at last in some unwary moment; and sooner or later I shall have you toasting in Hell." That is a free rendering of the story.

But Gautama refused to listen to all temptation. He rode forth into the night and reached at last a river, beside whose banks he settled down to cut his hair, remove his rich garment, and discard all the ornaments of this world. "It is impossible," thought he, "to achieve complete wisdom in an elaborate outfit of clothing." Is it not strange that this idea should persist in practically all religious systems?—the idea that a man must discard all ornamentation, and sometimes even clothing

before he can clear his head of worldly thoughts? Faith seems to flourish better in filth; everywhere.

Gautama settled down in the jungle to a life of fasting and penance. His goodness and piety became well known in the neighborhood, but the life of extreme asceticism undermined his health, and he steadily lost strength. One day, as he was walking up and down, hands behind his back, he suddenly fell into a state of unconsciousness. This fainting-fit impressed upon his mind the impossibility of achieving wisdom, and at the same time preserving life, health, and strength, by the silly methods he had been pursuing. Gautama was one of the first religious teachers in the world to realize that you cannot have a sound mind without a sound body; and he made this a cardinal point in all his subsequent teaching.

¶ *The cause of all unhappiness*

It would appear that illumination came to Gautama in a series of flashes of vision. The great question which he attempted to answer was: "Why am I not completely happy?" He concentrated upon self-analysis. We have seen in an earlier part of this book that selfishness is the motive force which drives humanity to nearly all its actions. No man discerned this fact more clearly than Gautama. He evolved a fundamental maxim to the effect that *all suffering and all unhappiness are due entirely to the selfishness of the individual*. "Let us endeavor," said he, "to abolish selfishness; and good must inevitably follow." The Four Great Truths of Buddhism are these: (1) The undoubted existence of suffering or sorrow in this world. (2) The cause of this suffering is the action of the outside world on the senses, exciting a craving for something to satisfy them, something to meet greed, avarice, and innate desire. (3) The necessity for causing this sorrow to cease, by a complete conquest and destruction

of the lust for life and the inborn selfishness of men. (4) Only a life of virtue based upon an "Eightfold Path" can be the cure for the unhappiness and sorrows of this life.

¶ *The Eightfold Path to Bliss*

The Noble Eightfold Path propounded by Buddha depended upon a strict observance of Right Belief, Right Aims, Right Speech, Right Actions, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Mindfulness, and Right Meditation—in accordance with his definitions of these factors. Having solved what he considered to be the most important thing in life, namely, how to be happy while here, Gautama set forth on a missionary journey to tell the world. It was a revolutionary doctrine, which cut right to the very root of Brahmanism, the orthodox religion of India at that time. He became Gautama the Buddha, or teacher, the founder of a great religion and subtle philosophy, indeed one more subtle than any which had existed before, or which has ever been conceived since. He himself possessed a mind of the very highest order; it is indeed doubtful if there has been a greater moral philosopher on this earth.

With regard to the origin of man the Buddha began by saying: "Please do not waste time on this problem. It is really of no importance to your present existence. Nor need you worry about the hereafter, for that also is of no concern to us, there being no knowledge of it except in abstract speculation; and such speculation is a waste of time. Our concern is with our life here, and heaven knows, it presents a big enough problem! Let us concentrate on it and see if we cannot make for ourselves, all of us, a world of peace and happiness, in which cruel struggles, war, killing, greed, jealousies, and indeed all those things which we know to be evil shall be eliminated. The only way to do this is, in the

first instance, by the *complete abolition of selfishness*, and a general purification of the mind." Thus, Buddhism was in the beginning purely an intellectual religion. It was not an appeal to the emotions; and it held out no bribe in the form of reward in the hereafter, nor any threat for a neglect of its precepts, other than a continuation of unhappiness. It was entirely an appeal to reason, and it was as such that it pleased and still pleases many men of intelligence. It is perhaps necessary to note that India was a country in which even at that time the affairs of the mind were admired by every class of person, and respected before all else. Hence the Buddha was not persecuted as Christ was by His contemporaries, but rather hailed as a philosopher bringing a new but reasonable code of behavior into the world. To follow it there was not any need for a man to leave his business, no need for penances, for fasting, or for waste of time in the self-hypnosis and mental masturbation of prayer. Naturally, those who wished to become teachers of the new philosophy must train themselves thoroughly, and for them a special course of teaching was devised by the leader.

¶ *Philosophy versus priestcraft*

In a few years the gospel of Buddha had spread itself over a great part of India, and in the course of time it reached south as far as Ceylon, and later spread eastward and northward, to the Malay Peninsula, to Tibet, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and even to Japan. Originally a pure doctrine, it became, after the death of its founder (as has happened to all other religious systems) a prey to the worldly. It developed a priesthood and a series of complex excrescences in precisely the same manner as Christianity, Taoism, and Confucianism. It became the religion of bishops, priests, deacons, and what-not. Nevertheless, the fundamental teachings remain for those who would have them, just as the

fundamentals of Christianity as outlined in the Sermon on the Mount exist for those who care to take them seriously. There must be about 150 million Buddhists in the world today, and although it is in essentials much too subtle for the ordinary man to grasp, Buddhism has an intellectual appeal such as is not to be found in any of the other great religions.

The effect of the sublime doctrines of Buddha upon the subsequent trend of human nature was profound. It is perhaps no mere accident that the great teachings of Jesus should be a reflection of some of the chief precepts of the Buddha, of which the following are but a few examples: "Blessed is he who does no harm to his fellow beings"; "Blessed is he who overcomes wrong, and is free from passion"; "To the highest bliss has he attained who has conquered all selfishness and vanity." (Compare Matthew V, 3 to 11).

This great religion was to the eastern peoples what Christianity has been to Europe and America. It was the first great challenge to the conscience of men, in which it caused a quickening, and a generous appeal to unselfishness. Sublime and rational, Buddhism has by no means reached the end of its powers. Indeed, it holds out definite hopes to those people who are unable to accept many of the incredible aspects of the Christian religion; and it can hold intelligent men who are incapable of blind faith. Furthermore, it faces realistically the fact of suffering on earth, and attempts to deal with it, not by a postponement to the hereafter, but by means of a cure now. It is pessimistic in the same sense that medical science is pessimistic: it diagnoses a disease of the mind, however bad, in order that a cure may be found. It affords a Way of Escape from sorrow, and is a practical creed which can be observed without intellectual shame by sensible men. It cultivates a sense of the worthlessness of temporal things; and substitutes

mind for soul. The conception of happiness which it propounds is realizable in this life; its strong moral code emphasizes a stoical self-mastery. In matters of human nature we cannot afford to neglect the possibilities inherent in so powerful a system.

† *Discovery of conscience*

Gautama was the first man to offer to the world a really practical code of behavior such as would convert the evil into good, and abolish the wickedness which appeared to him to rule the world. He was one of the half-dozen Great Codifiers of Morality who lived in that period of a thousand years, dating from the sixth century before Christ to the sixth century after. It was in this period that human nature saw its greatest changes. New light came to the world; a new set of ideas entered into the minds of men; henceforward, although the actions of men might be evil, *a conscience was provided*, to remain often in the background, but nevertheless omnipresent.

Let us now move still farther East and see what was happening there in regard to human nature at a period almost contemporary with that of the Buddha in India. Three great Chinese teachers appeared within a very few years of one another; and they in their turn did for China what Buddhism did for India and what Christianity afterwards did for the West. Kong-fu-Tsi, or Confucius as we call him, was born in 551 B.C. His father was governor of a district in the present province of Shantung. He entered the civil service, but did not find in a government office sufficient spare time in which to pursue his studies, whereupon he resigned and turned to teaching. At the age of twenty-four his mother died and, according to national custom, he mourned for three whole years. But instead of moping during this period, he settled down seriously to the study of history and of such philosophy as existed. He pursued his investiga-

tions and contemplations with two main objects in view: the moral and material welfare of the people.

¶ *Chief Justice Confucius on punishment*

When he began to teach his fame soon spread throughout China. By way of reward he was appointed a town magistrate, and in the course of time became minister of justice and chief judge in his own province of Lü. Judge Confucius became renowned for the dispensation of a remarkably even and equitable system of justice, and legend informs us that so good was his influence that crime practically disappeared. He believed in reformation rather than punishment; and he was against the infliction of the death penalty upon those whom the state had failed to instruct. Confucius considered it a tyranny to execute a person brought up in darkness and ignorance of all moral virtues. Jealousy at his unorthodox reforms caused neighboring feudal lords to scheme for his removal, and this excellent man eventually was led to retire in utter disgust with his fellows. For many years he traveled about, preaching his system of morality. At last he was permitted to return to stand behind ministers, a sage to be consulted in cases of dire emergency. The remaining five years of his life were spent in literary pursuits, and in the compilation of his celebrated *Analects*, which were to become the Bible of a great part of China.

We have already seen how Gautama Buddha concerned himself chiefly with the elimination of self. We have also seen that the Jewish teachers concerned themselves with "righteousness" and worship, based on their fear of the universal God; and we shall learn that the Greeks attached most importance to external knowledge. Confucius was responsible for the introduction of a new idea. It was that man should strive by gentle and well-mannered behavior in this life to become a sort of superior being; a sort of peaceful aristocrat. Every-

body should be, like our late Lord Curzon, a superior person. Confucius attached supreme importance to the moral behavior of the state, his idea being that if rulers and administrators achieve a noble ideal of kindly and well-mannered behavior, such an influence must trickle through and ultimately affect every department of life. This attitude of mind explains his objection to the capital punishment of undesirables; he regarded it as *setting a bad example* in manners. He preached stern self-discipline, punctilious observance of politeness, and absolute justice in affairs. All these, one should note, are intellectual attainments.

¶ *Excellent manners of the Chinese*

His teaching comes roughly under five heads, each of which elaborates itself into a system that is really very simple, and capable of being understood by almost any person. Moral excellence of any kind, he called *virtue*. Intellectual attainments must be controlled always by *humaneness*. *Righteousness* is merely fair and honorable dealing, and an observance of *duty*. "To know what is right, and not to do it, is sheer cowardice." All men must show confidence, trustworthiness, and sincerity. With these forms of virtue men must observe earnestness, bravery, and perseverance; children must show the highest respect for their parents. Such, in brief, is the simple, straightforward teaching of the realistic Confucius. There is no mention in it of Heaven or Hell; and no reference to God or Devil. Regarding his influence on Chinese national character and human nature in the Far East there can be no doubt. With Lao-tsu and Moti and the Buddhistic teachings which came from India he helped to make the Chinese what they are today.

Almost on a level with Confucius we must mention Lao-tsu, the author of the Tao Te Ching, the Bible of another great Chinese religion—Taoism. Lao-tsu was a

librarian, who preached a blasé indifference to the powers and pleasures of this world; and he emphasized the necessity for a return to the simple life of the past, to the state of natural man in the Golden Age, of which there is only conjectural record.* His book offers statements and precepts which either stagger the western mind or merely cause a smile: "Attain complete vacuity, and sedulously preserve a state of repose"—a precept no doubt admirable but hardly capable of comprehension in the western world today. His book is full of riddles, but nevertheless contains much real wisdom. For example: "Requite injury with kindness," and, "Do good to the evil ones in order that they may become good." Only the very greatest of philosophers such as Buddha, Plato, and later Jesus Christ had either the wisdom or the courage to propound such a doctrine. But he made many profound mistakes of which this saying contains an example: "Ceremonies are the outward expression of inward feeling," and, "Those who know do not speak, those who speak do not know."

† *Constant knowledge of Lao-tsu*

Other examples of his precepts are these: "Desire not to desire, and you will not value things difficult to obtain. The best soldiers are not warlike; the greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies without strife." How delightfully true is this one: "In the highest antiquity the people did not know that they had rulers. In the next they feared them. In the next they despised them." And this: "Fishes must not be taken from the water; the methods of government must not be exhibited to the people." And this: "The greater the number of laws and enactments, the more thieves and robbers there will be." Of capital punishment he said: "If the people do not fear death, what good is

* Some modern anthropologists firmly believe in the Golden Age, and the same natural man. I confess I believe them to be wrong. C. D.

there in using death as a deterrent? But if the people are brought up in the fear of death, and we can take and execute any man who has committed a monstrous crime, who will dare to follow his example? People despise death because of their excessive labor in seeking the means of life." In regard to war he said: "In the track of great armies there must follow lean years." Other maxims of Lao-tsu are: "Peace and tranquillity are prized by the superior man, but when he conquers, he is not elate; to be elate were to rejoice in the slaughter of human beings. . . . Nature is not benevolent; with ruthless indifference she makes all things serve their purposes, like the straw dogs we use at sacrifices. . . . When shrewdness and sagacity appear, great hypocrisy prevails. . . . He who moves not from his proper place is long lasting. . . . Racing and hunting excite man's heart to madness. No calamity is greater than discontent. . . . Constant knowledge is wisdom; to know, but to be as though not knowing, is the height of wisdom; not to know, and yet to affect knowledge, is a vice. . . . True words are not fine; fine words are not true."

The above examples hardly indicate the teachings of this philosopher, which are on the whole extremely mystical, and where comprehensible at all by the Westerner, they indicate the best policy of life to be: *Keep your hair on, look after Number One, and do not be discontented*. During his lifetime his teaching had little success, but, because of its obscurity and paradoxical wisdom, it was seized upon by men of satirical temperament, who turned it into a great religion. Lao-tsu recognized his failure to convey his meaning and, at last, in a bitter passage cries against his fate: "Other men have plenty, while I alone seem to have lost all. I am a man foolish in heart, dull and confused. Other men are alert; I alone am listless. All men have their usefulness; I alone am stupid and clownish. Lonely though I am

and unlike other men, yet I revere the foster-mother, the Path of Wisdom, the 'Tao.' The religion thus founded has now many millions of adherents.

¶ *Mo-ti's doctrine of mutual love*

There arose in China yet another great teacher, Mo-ti, who lived in the fourth century B.C., after the doctrines of Confucius and Lao-tsu had been established in China and before the arrival of the Buddhist teachers in that country. As Wells and others have pointed out, Mo-ti's doctrine bears an extraordinary resemblance to the teaching of Jesus Christ, in political terms. It was, as it were, the forerunner of the new gospel. "The mutual attacks of state on state; the mutual usurpations of family on family; the mutual robberies of man on man; the want of kindness on the part of the sovereign, and of loyalty on the part of the minister; the want of tenderness and filial duty between father and son: these, and such as these, are the things injurious to the empire. All this has arisen from want of mutual love. If but that one virtue could be made universal, the princes loving one another would have no battlefields; the chiefs of families would attempt no usurpations; men would commit no robberies; rulers and ministers would be gracious and loyal; fathers and sons would be kind and filial; brothers would be harmonious, and easily reconciled. Men in general loving one another, the strong would not make prey of the weak; the many would not plunder the few; the rich would not insult the poor; the noble would not be insolent to the mean; and the deceitful would not impose upon the simple."

¶ *Inevitability of morality and inventions*

As may be imagined, Mo-ti was a little before his time in morality. But he outlined in the above passage one of the essentials of the Christian religion: the doctrine of mutual love. It seems as if morality, as well as

inventive thought, ripens slowly in the human mind and everywhere suddenly bursts forth to fruition. There is an *inevitability* about it: for otherwise why should thoughts such as those recorded in this section, and those which we shall indicate as characteristic of the age of philosophy in Greece (almost contemporary in time) and then but a little later the sublime teachings of Christ—why should all these come to the world within the very short space of a few hundred years? So far as we know, nothing like them had ever before appeared; and nothing like them has since appeared. One cannot but consider Mohammedanism as an adaptation of Christianity to the local thoughts and psychical necessities of the Arabs. There is a parallel in modern times, and it is in the realms of mechanical and scientific thought. A long series of inventions and scientific discoveries has been achieved almost at the same time by different men often working in different parts of the world. Perhaps the most striking of these was the working out of the theory of natural selection and variation in the same year (1858) by Darwin and Wallace. There was also the discovery which led to the use of internal-combustion engines in motorcars, made by three separate investigators working independently in three different countries at the same time. One may well ask the question, *Is a development of morality inevitable*; just as the question, *Are inventions inevitable*, already has been discussed in the Political Science Quarterly, with many examples to show that they are.

We must leave this question unanswered, and swing back again once more to the West, to consider what was happening in that astounding little country Greece, a mere currant on the earth's surface, which was probably responsible for the greatest of all changes in human nature, one which we can moreover definitely assert to be true: *the liberation of the human mind*.

§ 6. LIBERATION OF THE MIND BY THE GREEKS

AN object of the preceding section but one was to show the profound influence which a river may have upon the destiny of millions of human beings living upon its banks; and to indicate how it may be chiefly responsible for the evolution of a civilization and culture which, in turn, become of immeasurable influence upon the trend of subsequent history. The discoveries of God and of Hell, not to mention the immortality of the soul, were influences which have not entirely worked out their power over the human mind and over the behavior of masses of people alive today. The instance of superstitious Egypt, though by far the most striking which can be quoted to illustrate this river influence, is by no means unique. Today the Ganges is regarded by the Hindus as sacred; it rules the lives of masses; and there is little doubt but that it will long continue to do so. In such a work as this we cannot afford space for great detail or elaborate and erudite accounts of *all* the influences that have made us what we are. Only those of outstanding importance can be mentioned, and brief accounts given of men or nations or of inventions or discoveries which may be considered to have changed the nature of man even in a superficial sense.

¶ *The spiritual side of human nature*

Biologists inform us that human nature is always more or less the same; no doubt they are right, in the purely biological sense. But beside this biological aspect of man's nature there looms high what, for want of a better term, we must call his spiritual nature: a thing impossible of satisfactory definition, but of paramount importance in human history. We have seen the

Egyptian superstitious contribution to the spiritual side of man's nature in those three great priestly discoveries. We shall now briefly consider what the Greeks contributed and, in order to do so, we must contemplate for a moment the history of this amazing little country. For Greek civilization and Greek influence, diffused mainly by the wars of Alexander of Macedon in his selfish quest for power and glory, were responsible for a profound change in human thought, and in the spiritual side of men's natures, over the most important part of the globe. No doubt I shall by many be considered misguided if, having indicated the great achievement of the Greeks, I go on to say that much of it was negated by the bludgeon rule of materialistic Rome; and that what was not completely extinguished by Roman rule was, to a very great extent, suffocated by institutionalized Christianity.

Only once in the whole history of human nature did we poor mortals come within measurable distance of what seems like mental sanity in comparison with what preceded and what came after. Only once did a whole nation reach almost to the ideal of healthy, balanced minds in the healthy bodies of its individual citizens. It was a brief episode, but a glorious one; the closest approach to human perfection on a considerable scale of which there is any record. Notwithstanding the bad turn of events which for practical purposes wiped out the Greeks, one is forced to the conclusion that their influence upon the development of the nature of western man has been greater than all other influences, Christianity itself included. "Without what we call our debt to Greece we should have neither our religion nor our philosophy nor our science nor our literature nor our education nor our politics." * It is a dismal reflection upon man's intelligence that he has never had the wis-

* W. R. Inge, in Livingstone's *The Legacy of Greece*, 1921.

dom to take full advantage of the immense intellectual heritage left to him by this small country of big minds.

¶ *Love's labor lost*

No period in history will better repay close study than that of the rise and decline of Greek civilization in the seven centuries preceding the appearance of Jesus Christ. It was then, for the first (and some say for the last) time, that the liberation of the human mind was achieved. To outline the steps which led to this amazing achievement is hardly necessary, though even a moderate understanding of our own intellectual development is not possible without some statement of the general history of Greece, whose mental and cultural influences in one sense—the scientific—are even stronger in the world today than they were in the age of their creation. Those who read the history of Greek thought, and appreciate the attitude of the Greeks toward life, may well sigh when they turn to contemplate our modern western civilization, which forms an unhappy, perverse consequence. For it is a wretched fact that human greed and selfishness, exemplified in Alexander and Roman militarism, have almost entirely negated the glorious intellectual and artistic heritage which was left to Europe for the taking. The unparalleled development of the Greeks and the rapidity of the evolution of their thought are marvels of human nature, in glory only exceeded by the ignominy deserved by the men who came after and ignored the mission which clamored for fulfilment. How was it that over two thousand years ago a territory about four hundred miles long and two hundred broad was able to produce so many really great men, and exert so powerful an influence upon the whole of subsequent history? This enigma has never been satisfactorily answered, a fact which in itself justifies us in looking shortly at Greek history.

¶ *What we owe to aristocrats*

The Greek world was composed of city groups of "aristocrats," with farms in the immediate neighborhood, who had all their manual and a part of their intellectual drudgery done for them by slaves. The gentry had nothing to do but to cultivate their bodies and their minds, and this no doubt explains their rapid development. They lived mostly out of doors, while their wives remained in the home. A woman who entered society and mixed with men forfeited her title to respect or lost her heart to one or more handsome athletes. It was almost inevitable. Little money was spent on wives, houses, or food; rich men were expected to give dramatic entertainments and to contribute a company or a ship for the protection of the city. The marketplace was a general club.* "There the merchants talked their business: the labors of the desk were then unknown [I quote from the picturesque Reade]. The philosopher instructed his pupils under the shade of a plane tree, or strolling up and down a garden path. Mingling with the song of the cicada from the boughs, might be heard the chipping of the chisel from the workshop of the sculptor, and the laughter and shouts from the gymnasium. And sometimes the tinkle of a harp would be heard; a crowd would be collected; and a rhapsodist would recite a scene from the Iliad, every word of which his audience knew by heart, as an audience at Naples or Milan knows every bar of the opera which is about to be performed. Sometimes a citizen would announce that his guest, who had just arrived from the sea of Azov or the Pillars of Hercules, would read a paper on the manners and customs of the barbarians. It was in the city that the book was first read and the statue exhibited—the rehearsal and the private

* For the facts in this section I am indebted to *The Historians' History of the World*; to Grote and to Reade, who have all borrowed liberally from conventional sources. The manner of presentation is my own. C. D.

view; it was in Olympia [where the Olympic games were held] that they were published to the nation. When the public murmured in delight around a picture by Zeuxis or a statue by Praxiteles, when they thundered in applause to an ode by Pindar or a lecture by Herodotus, how many hundreds of young men must have gone home with burning brows and throbbing hearts, devoured by the love of Fame. And when we consider that though the geographical Greece is a small country, the true Greece—that is to say, the land inhabited by the Greeks—was in reality a large country; when we consider with what an immense number of ideas they must have been brought in contact on the shores of the Black Sea, in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, in Southern France, in Egypt and in Northern Africa; when we consider that, owing to those noble contests of Olympia, city was ever contending against city, and within the city man against man, there is surely no longer anything mysterious in the exceptional development of that people. Education in Greece was not a monopoly; it was the precious privilege of *all the free*. The business of religion was divided among three classes. The priests *were merely the sacrificers and guardians of the sanctuary; they were elected, like the mayors of our market towns, by their fellow citizens, for a limited time only*, and without their being withdrawn from the business of ordinary life. The Poets revealed the nature, and portrayed the character, and related the biography of the gods. *The Philosophers undertook the education of the young; and were also the teachers and preachers of morality*. If a man wished to obtain a favor of the gods, or to take divine advice, he went to a priest: if he desired to turn his mind to another, though scarcely a better world, he took up his Homer or his Hesiod; and if he suffered from mental affliction or sickness, he sent for a Philosopher.” The italics are mine.

¶ *The first confidence in reason*

Professor Lowie says that we may liken the progress of mankind to that of a man a hundred years old, who dawdles through kindergarten for eighty-five years of his life, takes ten years to go through the primary grades, then rushes with lightning rapidity through grammar school, and college. Culture, it seems, is a matter of exceedingly slow growth until a certain "threshold" is passed when it darts forward, gathering momentum at an unexpected rate. So it was in Greece. It is no exaggeration to state that never before and never since was such attention given to a discussion of intellectual problems. The result was the *creation of confidence in reason*, in which five words I would summarize the Greek contribution to the development of human nature. Before this, prejudices tend to vanish, and no problem in religion, philosophy, or morals need be shirked. The attainment of Truth and Beauty was the ideal; it overshadowed all else. The Greeks and many of their ideas became dispersed over Asia, and such was the influence of their superiority that countries in which they had no political power adopted much of their culture and their manners. They also surpassed the foreigners—"barbarians"—as much in the arts of war as in those of peace. They were destined to inherit the Persian empire, which by this time was beginning to decay. There is no need to retell what Herodotus has already magnificently recorded of the history of the wars between the Greeks and Persians more than to say that they ended in favor of the Greeks, leaving this people to dominate the greater part of the known world.

¶ *The beginning of militarism*

A desperate internal struggle now began, one in which Sparta, Athens and other states each endeavored to achieve the ascendancy over its neighbors. It was

also during the hundred and fifty years or so which followed the defeat of Persia and the liberation of Greek cities and communities in Asia that, as Wells says, "the thought and the creative and artistic impulse of the Greeks rose to levels that made their achievement a lamp to mankind for the rest of history." It was in 359 B.C., fifty years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, that Philip, king of the country called Macedonia which lies to the north (the Scotland of Greece, as it were), conceived the idea which ultimately led to the undoing of much of the practical good that Greek philosophy was achieving in the mental liberation and true spiritual education of mankind. Philip had the soldier's mind, and he dreamed of a consolidation of his own country with the Greek states into a strong military union which might set about the conquest of Asia. He invented the packed mass of infantry—the phalanx—and also the mobile cavalry formation; and he trained large bodies of infantry and cavalry to collaborate in attack and defense. He systematized this branch of warfare, evolving new tactics for his novel army. The battle of Chæronia 338 B.C. was one of the most important in history, not because of its own magnitude but because of its effect upon the subsequent trend of political events. By this victory Greece was now at Philip's mercy; a Greco-Macedonian confederacy was formed. Plans were laid for an onslaught on Persia, to be interrupted by the assassination of Philip by one of his first wife's satellites. But these plans were afterwards put into practice by Alexander, his son. At the age of twenty this young man found himself in command of an excellent army. Having inherited his father's ability (which was further strengthened by tuition under the philosopher Aristotle), Alexander proceeded to what must be regarded as one of the two supreme military adventures in world-history.

For a period of two years Alexander occupied himself in dealing with subversive movements among those Greeks who thought that such a mere boy could not possibly take the place of Philip, either in leading them to conquest or in keeping them in some sort of order. He succeeded in subduing those Greeks who from their education aspired to liberty; and when this was completed he conceived his great scheme for a military conquest of the East. From the memorable day on which he crossed the Hellespont in the spring of the year 334 B.C. to his death at Babylon in the summer of 323 B.C., a period of just above eleven years, his life was spent in ever-growing conquest. The science and philosophy as well as the political life of Greece itself were brought to a standstill during the busy period of the Macedonian adventurer. It would not be unreasonable to say that those military expeditions of Alexander do not belong properly to the history of Greece; he was of a race as different from that which inhabited Athens as the Highlanders of Scotland used to be from the people who lived in London. As a political aggregate Hellas almost ceased to exist. Nevertheless, it was this amazing military adventure of the Macedonian which was responsible for the wide-spread, superficial diffusion of Greek ideas; from the borders of Illyria through Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Beluchistan, and Afghanistan, a part of India, not to mention Syria, Egypt, and a part of the Mediterranean shores—all this vast territory, the most sensitive in the world to ideas, received its leaven of Greek culture.

¶ *The military mind*

It is not my intention in this work to give much space to the exploits of military adventurers such as Alexander the Great. In the first place the history of such exploits has been written so often that the world ought to be thoroughly tired of the so-called glory of it. But

when wars and conquests are responsible for really wide-spread movements of moral or philosophic import to the trend of human nature as a whole, they cannot be ignored. Furthermore, one may fix upon a great character in history such as Alexander of Macedon, and use him to illustrate a type of mind which has always existed and still exists and will probably exist forever: that is to say the bashi-bazook or military mind. It is a type of mind which recognizes no form of right but that which is symbolized by the bludgeon. The strong must rule the weak, is the argument; and a very powerful one it is; as Rome and other nations have shown. Let us glance then briefly at the mentality and achievements of one of the world's very greatest representatives of this type of mentality; and, while endeavoring to point a moral, take the adorned tale as it is given to us by writers of antiquity, and strip it of its embroidery.

¶ *The science of massacre*

The army at the disposal of Alexander consisted of less than forty thousand men, of whom about three-quarters were infantry. Its generals were highly trained soldiers from his father's armies. The infantry consisted of two branches: heavy and light troops; the former for mass movements in phalanx form; and the latter for swift advances, skirmishes, or rear-guard fighting. It was a highly organized and scientific army of tried officers and men; the first really *scientific* army the world had seen. The phalanx probably did more for its success than all else except sheer chance, which often assisted vigorously. The Macedonian phalanx is worth notice; it consisted of men heavily armed and armored, carrying shields and long lances (of twenty feet or so) as well as a short, stout, and very sharp sword. The men stood sixteen deep, the lances of the first five files projecting beyond the front, and offering an almost

impenetrable barrier to an enemy. The files behind placed their lances on the shoulders of those in front. The thorough training of individual members of this body made possible a unity, rapidity, and precision of movement which rendered the whole extremely formidable to any but a most courageous, highly disciplined, and well-trained fighting force. For his phalanx-work Alexander used eighteen thousand picked men in his first campaign; later this number was greatly increased. This powerful arm was assisted by a corps with lighter shields and longer swords; the cavalry also consisted of heavy and light sections. The battle array of Philip's armies was worked out on geometrical lines in accordance with the leader's idea of strategy; and this proved itself during the next few years to be immeasurably superior to any system of strategy hitherto conceived in the mind of man. According to one authority, the war-chest of Alexander at the outset of his campaign was seventy talents—about \$75,000: a mere trifle with which to begin so vast a military campaign.

The leader of the Persians against whom Alexander soon found himself (after a number of quick victories in Asia Minor) was Darius, an extremely stupid man, to judge by events. Within a few minutes of the beginning of a battle (in which the Persian forces greatly outnumbered those of Alexander) the Persian leader made a series of hopeless blunders which placed him at the mercy of the invader. The rout of the Persians was complete. It was followed by the destruction and slaughter of the fugitives on a formidable scale; the camp of Darius was taken, and his family made prisoners. The estimated total loss in Darius's forces was over one hundred thousand men; Alexander lost a mere three hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse. We are informed on excellent authority that no victory was ever more complete and that few have had

more far-reaching consequences than this one of Alexander at Issus. The conqueror then turned and besieged Tyre, which capitulated after a courageous struggle. Two thousand prisoners were taken and forthwith crucified. The next step of the victor was to take Egypt. After this, by swift marches Alexander moved toward Babylon, which he also took, apparently without difficulty.

¶ *Spare time amusements of soldiers*

The old historian Quintus Curtius tells us that Alexander delighted in this city of luxury and amusement; and remained there longer than he had done anywhere. It was hardly a good place for military discipline, though the conquering troops no doubt enjoyed themselves immensely. One might perhaps legitimately compare it with certain aspects of "Gay Paree" during the World War. "Nothing," says Curtius, "could be more corrupt than the manners of this city, nor could one be better provided with all the requisites to stir up and promote all sorts of lewdness; for parents and husbands did suffer their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests if they were but paid for the crime. The kings and noblemen of Persia at that time took great delight in licentious entertainments, and were much addicted to wine and the consequences of drunkenness. The women in the beginning of their feasts would be modestly clad; then after a little time they would take off their upper garment and violate their modesty by degrees, at last flinging away even their lower apparel. Nor was this the infamous practice of the courtezans only, but likewise of respectable matrons and their daughters, who looked upon this vile prostitution of their bodies as an act of complaisance. It is reasonable to think that Alexander's victorious army which had conquered Asia, having wallowed thirty-four days in debauchery, would have

found itself enfeebled for battle if an enemy had appeared; to remedy this it was renewed with fresh recruits."

Having ravaged the countryside our conquering hero, whose army was feeling better after its holiday in Babylon, was able to pillage a number of towns and villages before turning upon the far-famed Persepolis. This was the noblest city of the East, and had formerly been the chief terror of Greece. It was sacked and burned in a manner so terrible that a mere account of it might curdle the gentle reader's blood. From that moment Alexander became little better than a devil: his campaigns are outstanding examples of military skill, energy, and thoroughness. In the winter of 330-329 B.C. his mighty conquests were extended over Afghanistan, the western part of Kabul and on to Kandahar; the conquest of a part of India quickly followed.

We must not forget in considering the vast area covered that there was no mechanical transport, that the bulk of the army marched on foot, and that roads hardly existed. Not until the civilized Napoleon Bonaparte marched across the roads of Europe more than two thousand years later did soldiers march at such speed. Thirty miles a day, for sometimes weeks on end, were not too much for men inspired by the leadership of the Macedonian. Perhaps the greatest test was a march across the desert of Gedrosia. It was here that Alexander showed those qualities of courage and endurance and character which have stamped his name upon history. Though ready to faint from thirst, he marched on foot at the head of his troops. At one stage, when the army had been without water for several days, a few scouts discovered a little in the channel of a brook. They drew it up and bringing it in a shield presented it to their king. He took it quietly, thanked

the men, and in the presence of the army poured it upon the ground. This act in itself will give an idea of his generalship, and exemplifies the heroism of the military mind at its very best. The Indus, the Jaxartes, and the Nile became Macedonian rivers. Alexander brought about what is called the "Marriage of Greece with Persia" by compelling a number of his generals to wed Persian women and prepare to settle there. But many of his veteran troops began to clamor for a return to their native country. Plots, conspiracies, and minor mutinies began to show themselves. All these were satisfactorily settled, and a campaign was projected for further conquests.

¶ *Journey's End of Alexander*

Fortunately or unfortunately the leader was attacked by a fever with which his physicians were unable to cope. Droysen, the German biographer of Alexander, tells us that the impression produced upon the troops by this illness was beyond description. The hero of a thousand battles called for his veterans to be conducted to his chamber. They filed past his bed. Raising his head faintly, he gave his hand to each one, signaling a silent farewell. Toward evening on June 11, 323 B.C. the first of the two really great military adventurers in human history faded quietly out, following a prophecy by the gods that he would soon be himself again.

It is difficult to form any sort of reasonable estimate of the personality of this man. His ambition was to conquer the whole habitable globe as it was then known, and Grote thought that he might have accomplished it had God spared him; for he was not only the first scientific military organizer but one of the best. Alexander was courageous in the military sense of the word; he was also violent, ungovernable, and cruel to an extent which indicated his utter barbarism. He could stand no contradiction or criticism of any kind; only sub-

servience and adulation were acceptable. He had little real sense of culture, but was nevertheless not without political ideas and ideals, for he wished to amalgamate Greeks and Persians and to make Greece a world-wide power the people of which would live on terms of comparative equality and without the old smug division into Greeks and barbarians.

¶ *Is man a determining agent?*

There is no doubt but that Fortune served him remarkably well, and that he took full advantage of every opportunity she offered. "The extent," says Ogburn, "to which man is a freely determining agent in directing social evolution is one of the fundamental questions in sociology. This question is very similar to the old philosophical question of freedom of the will. It is also at the root of the question of the influence of the great man in history." * Elliot Smith declares: "Sir Charles Oman calls attention to the patent fact that history is cataclysmic. The career of mankind has not been the inevitable result of the action of natural causes, but has in large measure been shaped by accidents and catastrophes, by the actions of dominating personalities who have deliberately provoked great movements, peaceful and warlike, which have shaped the destiny of the world." † It is a matter of dispute whether any one man has had greater influence than Alexander upon the subsequent results of the great age of Greek culture which had preceded him. Although his armies had a backbone of Macedonians, the brains were very often Greek; and nothing could prevent the wide-spread dissemination of the culture which was carried everywhere by Greek members of his forces. Wheeler aptly sums it up thus: "Man as a base line for measuring the universe, man as a source of governing power arose in

* William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change*.

† G. Elliot Smith, *Human History* (1930).

Greece; it was Greece that shaped the law of beauty from which came the arts of form, the law of speculative truth from which by ordered observations came the sciences, and the law of liberty from which came the democratic state. This was what the old Greece held in keeping for the world. Alexander was the strong wind that scattered the seed; again, he was the willing hand of the sower." It is more flattering to think that we may be budding Alexanders than to contemplate abstract conceptions as dominating factors.

† *Supposing—*

But there is another side to the picture. Although Alexander and his armies were unconsciously responsible for this wide-spread diffusion of culture and its taming influence upon men, he was also responsible for extinguishing completely the flame which was already beginning to flicker at Athens. The problem with which we are presented in considering the history of this great general is one which can never fail to interest the student of human affairs. It is this: Supposing, instead of enthroning militarism and annihilating individual liberty amongst Athenians, he had chosen to concentrate all his immense dynamic energy upon fostering the *true* cultural spirit of Greece, and propagating it by means of peaceful commerce—supposing this had been his choice, what might not the result have been for the good of humanity? Some very terrible facts resulting from his militarist career stare us in the face. With the arrival of this selfish, domineering man upon the scene, old Greece began to die; his name afterwards became detested both by Athenians and Macedonians. While militarism spread a light leaven of Greek culture over the face of the world, it killed it surely at its rich source. Nor did the benefits of Alexander's militarism, in the form of wealth and vast territory, take the place of the intense culture that it

had stifled at the source. Immediately after his death, the lust for power and the greed of his generals soon asserted themselves. Our old friend selfishness again. One seized the Persian Empire; another seized Egypt; a third fell upon Macedon. Minor military adventurers and political buccaneers arose on all sides, attempting to emulate the conqueror. Barbarians in the north swarmed down upon the Acropolis at Athens, to be spasmodically driven off. From a beautifully organized little state that had developed a higher consciousness and a soul of its own, Greece changed into an unstable and disorganized rabble.

For all that, the culture which had been disseminated over the whole of the ancient world remained predominantly Greek. Egypt under the Ptolemies, successors to Alexander's general of that name, caught a short blaze of the glory of three thousand years before. In the city of Alexandria was founded the first university of the world, the celebrated Museum in which Euclid wrote his still more celebrated "Elements." Here also worked the fine old engineer Hero, the man who invented the first steam-engine. It is difficult for us moderns to imagine the extent of the Greek mind when, in mathematics alone, to take but one branch of thought and perhaps the most difficult, it is only recently that we have been able to advance beyond it. To quote Elliot Smith again: "Abstract thought is the rarest manifestation of the human mind even in modern times. Every school-boy and student can make a pretense of abstract thinking by reproducing scraps of wisdom (and folly) acquired from the writings of scholars, or the every-day currency of polite conversation. But when it comes to original observation and real thinking, the influence of the traditions and fashions of the time tends to inhibit abstract thought, and keeps most men's attention fixed on concrete demonstrations."

¶ *Toleration appears*

In physics the Museum had a notable exponent in Eratosthenes, who succeeded in calculating the diameter of the world to within fifty miles of what our greatest physicists today have worked it out to be! The Museum library was a publishing and book-selling business, the first in existence. A celebrated librarian named Callimachus devised a method of cutting up the rolls of script to make them more convenient for reference and so made the first books to resemble our own. Here also began the systematic study of human anatomy. A discipline of science was evolved. *The Scientific Method came into existence*. The list of achievements could be extended, but there is no need to do this. Let it suffice to say that the systematized scholarship at Alexandria, following upon the age of philosophy at Athens, helped in the dissemination of an entirely new spirit throughout the world; one which was to be bludgeoned out of existence for a time, but which came to life again two thousand years later. This was the spirit of intellectual toleration. Old barriers were being broken down in affairs of the mind; the man of one nation began to pay attention to the ideas of the man of another nation. We shall see in due course how this worked out, and the effect it had upon human nature.

§ 7. THE GOLDEN AGE OF REASON

CULTURE has been defined by Tylor as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." What was this culture which the wars of Alexander the Great

diffused over most of the known world? It cannot be described in a sentence or a paragraph, though I would put it under the broad head of *Right Thinking*. We may differ in our opinions as to whether the Greeks were always right in their philosophy. But to them, above all peoples, we must give credit for an endeavor to achieve *perfect honesty of thought*. This showed itself to be beneficial in many ways, but chiefly in the growth of liberty and toleration in word and deed.

¶ *Early drama*

To outline even very briefly the steps by which freedom of thought and toleration were achieved in ancient Greece is beyond the scope of this work. The movement probably originated in sport and the drama, which both appeared there seven hundred years before the Christian era. The drama had a religious origin, and in its early phase consisted largely of performances in honor of the many gods of the early Greek populace. There is record of a comedy having been performed at Athens about 580 B.C.; tragedy came earlier. An important step in the development of the theater was the introduction of a chorus which has since that day degenerated (or risen, whichever you like) into the choruses of the pornographic "revues" of modern times. Tragedy was first represented at Athens on a kind of movable wagon. Musical performances were gradually developed, in which songs and choruses were sung in honor of Dionysius, god of wine and amusement. The State of Athens during the great age of Pericles consisted of over a quarter of a million people of whom about 100,000 were slaves, 160,000 free citizens and their families, and 20,000 resident aliens. There were at most 50,000 freemen, who formed the democracy—the truest democracy the world has ever known before or since, for every freeman attended and voted at the meetings of the Assembly; he did not send an elected

representative to do his work. In an earlier section we have already seen how many men of genius appeared in Greece during a very short period—a record unparalleled in human history.* The theater of Dionysius at Athens could hold thirty thousand spectators; and that at Megalopolis fourty-four thousand.

From 475 to 325 B.C. the theater flourished in Greece as it has never flourished anywhere else, if we take into consideration the high standard of thought and the elevated tone of the Greek plays. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were the supreme masters of tragedy; and Aristophanes the embodiment of the comic spirit. In the last we see the beginnings of sophistication in a new and salutary phenomenon in the development of human nature: mockery. For the first time, masters of literature and dramatic art applied their talents to the ridicule of disliked persons or institutions. Perhaps I ought to say here that a fairly high development of human culture is required in order to stand raillery and the spirit of humor, satire, and mockery; and this the Greeks possessed in a degree unrecorded in any previous history. Nowhere else do we find it excelled. The Israelites were a dull, uninteresting crowd, consumed by selfish desire for their own salvation; the Egyptians appear to us as a lugubrious and even morbid race, devoting far too much attention to their dead; the Indians too solemn and thoughtful for pleasant human companionship; and the Chinese a race giving all their attention to a superficial politeness and code of manners far too affected to be sincere. If the Greeks did nothing else they proved to the world the advantages of irony and of a sense of humor. And, after all, what is a sense of humor but a God-given psychological compensation for the woes around us?—a most valuable asset to any human being.

* See pages 60-61.

¶ *The Greeks discuss everything*

The theater showed its influence by stimulating thought. Schools of philosophy or, as they were originally, schools of argument sprang up on all sides. *Men began to discuss everything*, from the constitution of the universe to the meaning of beauty. Metaphysics, the study of ultimate realities, began. With this went the study and discussion of logic, the ideal method in human thought. To the Greeks we owe the beginnings of serious and ordered thought in all the chief branches of human activity. Esthetics attracted one school, ethics another, politics another; and certain notable schools embraced them all. The conclusions of Einstein could never have been reached, nor could we have modern science, without that immense body of spade-work done during a comparatively short period in the different schools of Greek philosophy. This people even attacked psychology, though they did not make much progress in formulating it; nevertheless, they were as far ahead in many branches of psychology as some of our most advanced thinkers of today. Pythagoras began the study of disease and medicine, and Hippocrates drafted a system which was to be the foundation upon which Galen five hundred years later based further advances; the science of healing thus evolved lasted nearly two thousand years. The philosophy of the Empirics began, that which teaches us to pay attention only to what is *useful*. Among a host of schools of thought, yet another group formed itself: the Eclectics, who, without attaching themselves to the whole body of doctrine of any given school, chose what they judged good from each. In the midst of all this scramble after the higher things of life there arose three men who may be added to our list of those pioneers who have had their effect upon the development of human nature as a whole: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Socrates was the son of a stonemason and a midwife; he was born at Athens about 470 B.C. He is notable in human history as the first great skeptic; as the man who challenged every statement. The chief tenet of his teaching is, like all great precepts, a very simple one: *that the only possible virtue in this life is complete honesty of thought.* His whole life was a quest after truth; there was no belief, no code of laws or morals, no system of government, or aught else which he did not desire to investigate for the purpose of discovering its ultimate truth. *He would tolerate no belief or hope which would not pass the test of investigation in every aspect, and in every detail.* Toward everything he held himself as an unbeliever, capable of being convinced by argument based upon human reason. This is not to say that he did not investigate mysticism and other occult arts; he examined everything that came his way, and accepted or rejected with impartiality and without emotion. Socrates was a living challenge to everything in human thought. His method took the form of question and answer, a dialogue ruthless in its investigatory powers. Such a man inevitably created enemies. He had also many admirers, amongst these Plato, who immortalized the works of his master in a series of memorable literary efforts. If we think for a moment of the significance of the cardinal maxim of Socrates, that *Virtue is Knowledge*, we can see how it goes to the very root of all that men even still hold dear and have held dear from time immemorable.

¶ *The most honest human being*

Socrates was the beginning of a definite progression in human thought and, with Plato, he became for a time the end of it. Such a man was a grave danger to all the old institutions, to the vested interests of religion and government; and, as has always happened in such circumstances in human affairs, a means was found of

getting rid of him. Few human beings can tolerate truth: this is a rule which applies throughout the whole of history. The mass of humanity looks backward; it is either the ill fortune or the ill luck of a very few to look forward. He who challenges existing institutions courts unpopularity and maybe death itself. In 399 B.C. Socrates was accused of denying existence of the gods, and of subverting the youth of Athens. There is not the slightest doubt but that he was guilty, in the same way that Christ was undoubtedly guilty of endeavoring to turn the minds of the Jews against their cherished and long-established religious institutions. In his old age the grand old Greek was haled before a tribunal and charged with the most serious offenses which could be brought against a man, that of wishing to abolish the gods and of turning the minds of his pupils against the authority of the state. He was found guilty and condemned to death by drinking a cup of the poisonous hemlock. The trial and death of this man are described in the *Phædo* of Plato in a passage of great beauty. When his end was close at hand he uncovered his face, and calmly said—they were his last words: “Crito, I owe a cock to Æsculapius; will you remember to pay the debt?” Plato adds: “Such was the end of our friend: concerning whom I may truly say that of all the men of his time whom I have known he was the wisest and justest and best.” To this might be added that Socrates was the founder of progress in human thought, the originator of that most difficult of all precepts to follow, namely, “Know thyself.” There is good reason for claiming that he was the most honest man who has ever lived.

¶ *Plato defines the upright man*

It was not so much during his lifetime as afterwards that the influence of Socrates made itself felt. His pupil Plato, a man of very different type, did not altogether

approve the attitude of quiet disillusionment and doubt adopted by his master. He had been born in the midst of a post-war atmosphere, in which the Greek republic was suffering much social distress and confusion. It was in a similar state to that of modern Germany in 1919; there was discord, dissatisfaction, and a great yearning everywhere. Hence, much of Plato's work consists of discussions regarding political and social institutions and relations, and the possibility of improving them. He queried whether so much unhappiness and discord could be possible if political and social institutions were as perfect as those who supported them asserted. He had been taught by Socrates that everything—*everything*—must be investigated. And he set about doing so with an amazing energy. At the age of forty he wrote his Republic, a magnificent book drenched in thought which has had almost as little influence upon subsequent political thought as the works of the great teachers have had in the realm of religion. He demonstrated that, difficult as it may be to define uprightness, courage, piety, and what other virtues there may be, the upright, courageous, and therefore happy man demonstrates in his own person the reality of these abstractions. This alone might have sufficed to make Plato a benefactor of the human race; but it is only a part of his labor. He founded with Socrates the Academy of Philosophy which lasted nearly a thousand years—the one which is still the prototype of all such organizations; and he immortalized the thought of Socrates in the celebrated Dialogues, which are a guide to the liberal education so desired by men. They are so good that they are little read now. The works of bad writers are more required in the world, because of the present general low level of human culture. Not long ago I spoke to the editor of a magazine which provides reading for (or at all events is bought by) thousands of good

people in this twentieth century. I asked that editor a question: "Supposing a man mentally equivalent to Plato were alive today, and this man wrote a work of a standard equivalent to the Dialogues, both in thought and literary style. Would you publish it?" He replied frankly: "I doubt very much if I should seriously consider it for publication in my magazine. I have at present one million readers whom it is my great desire to retain. I must give them what they want and pay for. And there are not one million people in the whole world who could understand or would pay for any work of so high an intellectual standard as the Dialogues of Plato."

We may add yet another name to those of Socrates and Plato: that of Aristotle, whom Goethe called the master builder among men. To these three men we must attribute the glory of having laid down the basis of practically every philosophic science. Aristotle was the systematizer. They have never been surpassed as philosophers by any three men anywhere. We have not even yet exhausted all the possibilities that their works contain: many of their intuitions have been verified after the lapse of centuries, after a thousand, in some cases two thousand years. "It remained," says Elliot Smith, "for the Greeks to remove the shackles and restore to human reason the freedom it had lost. Ever since then the history of the world has been a conflict between the rationalism of Hellas and the superstition of Egypt."

† *The ethics of mercy*

But apart altogether from philosophy, the Greek influence made itself felt in many ways. They were responsible for the formulation of a system of government and politics; to this may be added the rhetorical system of Aristotle. They instituted government by parliament, and a system of representation based upon

the ballot. They were the first people to introduce real humanitarianism into the institution of slavery which they had inherited from Egypt and the East. Human society from the point of view of the economist, we are told, begins when the strong man instead of eating and killing his victim discovers that he can put him to a much more profitable use. And this brings us to the very root of the ethics of the spirit of mercy, which is held up to us as so admirable a thing. Mercy was originally based upon the material interests of the person who granted it: when a prisoner was spared after a battle, it was because his captors thought they could draw more benefit from a use of his service extending over a period of years than they could draw from the immediate enjoyment of a few human cutlets, probably tough ones at that. Thus, when slavery was first established it marked a great step in human progress. To the institution of slavery we owe much of the law and order which goes with property and inheritance, and by means of slavery society was graded into two important classes. Aristotle taught that a servant is an instrument more valuable than any other, although he was probably not the first to discover this fact. The Greeks of his age began to treat their slaves well, realizing that it paid them to do so. In precisely the same way many modern employers of labor offer excellent conditions to their employees. Such employers practice the enlightened self-interest to which Aristotle first drew attention. It may seem quite a simple proposition, though apparently it is not. Perhaps another two thousand years of human history may convince us all of the practical wisdom of at least this item of Greek philosophy.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, there were a few soiled spots on the Greek escutcheon. The Lacedæmonian youths, for example, were trained in the

practice of deceiving and butchering slaves, and were from time to time let loose upon them to show their proficiency; once for amusement they murdered three thousand in a night. With regard to rhetoric, the Greeks were not guilty of what is often to be found in our modern rhetoric: changes in the voice to produce an influence altogether independent of the intellectual worth of that which is uttered. In arts and letters the Greek states were one nation; and their jealousy of one another only served to stimulate their inventiveness and industry. But in politics this envious spirit divided them and weakened them; the Ionian cities were enslaved again and again because they could not combine, and they could not combine because they never trusted one another. Dishonesty, want of faith, disregard for the sanctity of oaths, and a hankering after money had much to do with disunion even in the face of danger. Polybius declares that Greek statesmen could not keep their hands out of the till. In Xenophon's account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, banter is exchanged between a Spartan and an Athenian. It is necessary to rob the natives in order to provide themselves with food, and the Athenian says, "You Spartans are taught to steal, so now is the time for you to show that you have profited by your education." The Spartan replied, "You Athenians will no doubt be able to do your share, as you appoint your best men to govern the state, and your best men are invariably thieves."

¶ *Evil results of work*

It is to a Greek that we must give the credit for having discovered the evil of idleness. The laws of Draco enacted in 621 B.C. punished idleness as severely as murder. This was afterwards modified by Solon, and still further changed as a result of the teachings of the philosophers, to that point when they began to consider laziness almost as a virtue. They learned to re-

lax and seemed to glory in it, perhaps not without some reason. Our modern philosopher of industry, Mr. Henry Ford, says that for man the natural thing to do is to work—to recognize that prosperity and happiness can be obtained only through honest effort. "Human ills," he says, "flow largely from attempting to escape this natural course." I admit that large numbers of us have to work in order that we may eat, but I am not sure that we all enjoy work as much as Mr. Ford says he does. Personally I regard most modern work as an evil thing, to be avoided whenever possible. My vision of happiness is a world basking philosophically in the sunshine of some pleasant semitropical beach, we men smoking our cigars and, between sips at a glass of good alcohol, discussing how pleasant the weather is, how nice it is not to have to go to the factory or to the office, and preening ourselves on how enjoyable is the thought that the only exercise we need take is such as may be required to keep the body functioning properly. The simple fact is that, as a result of labor-saving machinery, there are many people in the world for whom no work can be found; and it is this mass of rather unintelligent and selfish animals, so conceited that they will not bother to think out their problems, which calls for still more work, much of it absurd and unnatural. Indeed, the reasoning which makes a necessity of this virtue is responsible both for man's ascent to intellectual supremacy and also for his descent to machine-minding. There is, however, one type of man, who happily stands head and shoulders morally above his fellow men, and that is the downright tramp who simply *refuses* to do a hand's turn beyond what is imperatively necessary to obtain sustenance. He walks about the world, a peripatetic protest against diabolical doctrines of utility. Our tramp may be a true philosopher and, in his rags and dirt and laziness, come

nearest to the high ideal of life taught in such excellent books as the New Testament.

Is it not the craze for work which is largely responsible for the world's present discontents? Western man, especially in the United States, is making work for gain to take the place which the Holy Ghost occupied in the cosmogony of our forefathers in the Middle Ages. Work is responsible for Babbitts, robots, admirals, generals, madhouses, hospitals, high finance, and a host of other extremely undesirable institutions. If you wish to see how happy a man may be doing little or nothing, you must read W. H. Davis's "Autobiography of a Supertramp."

¶ *Bird's-eye view of "Progress"*

We have now come almost to the end, with one exception—Jesus Christ—of those Great Codifiers of Morality amongst men of the West: Hammurabi, the great Assyrian king; Akhnaton, the Egyptian; Moses and the prophets of Israel, of the Pentateuch and the Psalms. In the East we found in India Gautama the Buddha, and Confucius, Lao-tsu, and Mo-ti in China. Then in ancient Greece we have seen the challenge to all existing thought, and the real beginnings of the different philosophies, including the science of mathematics, the elements of Euclid, the foundations of physics; the beginnings of the great games and sports, the opera, the drama, and parliament, the institution of slavery (which among the Greeks brought with it the invention of trousers as a sign of degradation); we see alongside the invention of the bellows, that of the screw and the saw as well as the beginnings of laughter and mockery as a means of criticizing human institutions: we see all these ideas spreading over the world, being carried by commercial travelers and barterers. We have seen the invention of money, and of a system of bookkeeping and accounts by the early Phenicians, the forerunners

of modern salesmen, the first advertisers. The *diffusion of culture* has begun. In all these things the thought of the known world was now beginning to run in practically the same channels amongst great peoples. A part of Europe and a part of Asia had risen from savagery and barbarism to the stage which we call culture and then civilization: in Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Phenicia, Greece, and a little later in Carthage and Rome, there was a definite growth and decay of culture and civilization. Population increased enormously, and races and nations began to pass through a sort of spring, summer, autumn and winter, like plants or men. Having done so they left behind them the leaven of a standardized method of thinking which has not greatly altered since then. We shall see later there have been developments of this thought, and generally, in intellectual achievements. We have not yet come to the age of modern science, advertising, and money. But to all intents and purposes, with the combination of Greek thought and other thought in the few hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, we have a world which was thinking almost as it does today: standard human nature. From that moment onward we look only for intellectual changes, and in these there is a great gap. The appearance of Jesus Christ and the diffusion of his wonderful teachings made what may be considered to be the final change in human nature, at all events in the whole of western civilization. We must chronicle the working out of human destiny through a black age of ignorance, thoughtlessness, brutality, and barbarism. First there is Retrogression, than Stagnation, then a Renaissance; and finally we shall come to consider the machine age in which we now live. It may seem a dreary road from Socrates and the Dialogues of Plato to some of our most popular authors today; and it is only the comfort we find in a contemplation of human progress which justifies so long a journey.

BOOK III

THE DOMINATION OF HUMAN
NATURE BY ROMAN MATERIALISM
AND INSTITUTIONALIZED CHRIS-
TIANITY

§ 1. THE HUB OF HISTORY

ABOUT one thousand years before the appearance of Christ, a number of Aryans set out on walking tours from the north and east and extended their travels to Italy and Greece. They reached Marseilles when it had already become a busy center of Phenician trade, and when there were on the other side of the Mediterranean many outlying Phenician trading-posts. We are informed that Italy also attracted a number of wanderers from Greece and Asia Minor, who began a small war with the Aryan tribes already settled north of the Tiber. These Etruscans were a fairly civilized people who knew how to build strong fortresses; and they could make good pottery. South of the Tiber were then to be found semi-barbarous tribes who were called Latins; by means of war the Etruscans overcame the Latins. When we first read of Rome, it appears as a small trading community, situated close by a ford on the river Tiber, with a Latin-speaking population, and ruled by Etruscan kings.

¶ *Rome founded on blood*

We understand that the city was founded in the year 753 B.C., or at least fifty years later than the founding of the Phenician city of Carthage on the other side of the Mediterranean. The Latins of Rome were able in the sixth century B.C. to expel the Etruscan kings, who were beaten not so much by the superior force of arms of the Romans as because they had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Greeks in a naval battle off Sicily. About the same time a horde of barbarians from France (or Gaul as it was called) swarmed down upon

the Etruscans of the north to occupy the valley of the river Po. Attacked on the north by the Gauls, and greatly worried by a struggle with the Greeks, the Etruscans succumbed to the first attempts of the Romans to achieve freedom. However, the Gauls under Brennus made their way toward Rome itself, which had now grown into a city. They sacked it and captured its most important citizens, whom they held for ransom. But Brennus and his compatriots did not remain there long. In the course of two hundred and fifty years of struggle, that is to say by 275 B.C., Rome had made herself complete mistress of Italy, extended her territory along the Gaulish boundary, and become a compact power of considerable importance.

This was at a time when the small world still remembered the achievements of Alexander the Great. The Carthaginians—the supreme maritime power—feared that the Greeks might become strong in Sicily, which stood geographically opposite to their city. So they made an agreement with the Romans by which Sicily was given to Carthage, the whole of the rest of Italy being in the hands of the Romans. Both Rome and Carthage were young, vigorous, and growing communities. The Carthaginians, as we have seen, had in them the strong Phenician (that is, Semitic) element driving them to trade. The Latins were an agricultural people, living close to the soil, and not caring greatly for trade. It was entirely in the interests of these two peoples to form an economic alliance. Instead of this they decided in 264 B.C. that their differences could best be settled by war.

¶ *Force of the economics of selfishness*

This sort of political stupidity occurs again and again in history. It is based upon two of those fundamental characteristics of human nature which we have noticed earlier in this book: selfishness and pride. Self-

ishness to acquire wealth and power; pride in the ability to acquire this wealth and power quickly. War in such cases merely hastens (with great loss to both sides) the absorption or economic conquest of one side by the other. By means of an alliance the process could be much more comfortably achieved in nine cases out of ten. The inability of Rome and Carthage to reach some sort of economic and political compromise resulted in the Punic War, one of the most bloody and important in history. It consisted of three main phases lasting altogether from 264 to 146 B.C. and ending with the supremacy of Rome. This war is of such importance—in a sense it seems to be more important than the World War of 1914-1918 A.D.—that it may prove instructive to consider the position of the two opponents in some detail. The Punic War was the first important economic war in history; and we have not yet left behind the latest phase of economic wars. Besides, it decided that the world should be ruled by Romans instead of perhaps by Semites; and Rome and Carthage were not unlike two great modern nations.

¶ *Qualities of racial success*

From the natural temperament of the Romans (and the systems of government and education which they had evolved) there sprang a people admirably suited to warfare. The freedom of the individual was repressed in the interests of the state. Early Roman citizens were honest, frugal, pious, and obedient to authority. Neither generosity nor mercy found much place in their character; and they had none of that dissipating speculative and cultural spirit of the Greeks. The Roman paterfamilias was stern to the utmost degree with his own kith and kin, over whom he had power of life and death; at the time we now consider he did not hesitate to inflict a capital sentence upon a wife or son or daughter, when he deemed it necessary. Shrewd and

grasping in matters of business, cruel in their treatment of slaves, the Romans were a harsh and austere people. A strict discipline permeated their life and institutions; physical bravery and ability to suffer without complaint were considered as the highest virtues. The leaders were proud and avaricious. So long as poverty and discipline remained governing factors they were morally clean, if narrow and hard. Politically they were astute and even at this early period they had a sensible code of laws: their "Twelve Tables" are considered by jurists to be the foundation of most of our modern codes. In regard to usury they were severe: ten per cent was the maximum of interest which a lender could exact from a borrower of money (which would indicate a weak sense of finance). They could not stand ridicule. Any person who wrote libels or lampoons on his neighbors could be deprived of civil rights. This, in itself, would indicate a non-philosophic mind.

The city had lived for three hundred years in a state of perpetual warfare. The steady acquisition of power had, as is nearly always the case where men are concerned, produced a love of power and a desire for more. Hence the army was the nation. It was essential for a citizen to have served in ten campaigns before he was eligible for a civil office. The discipline was most severe; drill went on ceaselessly. Territory won by the sword was used and cultivated, its inhabitants made slaves, their personal wealth confiscated.

¶ *How a war is started*

The Carthaginian Republic was almost entirely commercial, its citizens for the most part engaged in peaceful pursuits. Such conquests as they made were rather by peaceful penetration than by the sword. Carthage possessed a great fleet and an army consisting largely of mercenary troops. After the wind-up of a war with Syracuse a number of Syracusan mercenaries (who had

been paid off) were passing on their way home through the Greek town of Messina, where they were well received. Following a mild soldierly debauch, they turned to and massacred the male inhabitants, married the women, and settled down comfortably. A Roman regiment heard the story and emulated this excellent idea at Rhegium, a Greek town on the Italian side of the Straits. The king of Syracuse decided to march against Messina, and the ex-mercenaries, becoming alarmed, turned to look for assistance: one party declaring they were Italians asked the Romans to help; another looked to the Carthaginians. The Carthaginian party prevailed, and Carthaginian soldiers under Hanno entered the town. Roman soldiers under Appius fell upon Hanno and defeated him. The Syracusans after a defeat threw in their lot on the side of the Romans. Rome well knew that on land she could hold her own against the Carthaginians, but was not so certain of her ability to do so at sea. Her navy was small and consisted of three-deckers, while the Carthaginian fleet was big and consisted of five-deckers, one of which, happily for the Romans, was wrecked on the Italian coast and could be used as a model.

After sixty days of frenzied effort the Romans had built one hundred five-deckers and twenty other ships, and while the building went on they trained men to row by placing them with imitation oars on scaffolds ranged along the shore—not unlike those rowing machines which we see used for practice in a modern gymnasium. The ingenuity of the military general staff was brought to bear upon the problem of how best to deal with their enemies. The “Crow” was invented—a gangway which was kept hauled up till within reach of the enemy’s ship and then suddenly released to fall and drive a strong, beak-shaped spike into the enemy’s deck. Roman soldiers could then swarm along the

gangway to engage the foe in a hand-to-hand fight. It was a great idea, for it worked admirably. This all seems very crude and simple to us now, but in naval history it is a landmark. It was, so to speak, an advance in material culture for, as Ogburn says, the facts of the growth of material culture seem to indicate a development by jumps. There is a period of stability or of relatively slight change. Then occurs a fundamental invention of great significance that precipitates many changes, modifications, and other inventions, which follow with relative rapidity for a time. There was, to all intents and purposes, no further development in naval warfare until the invention of the gun more than a millennium later—a very big jump indeed. I should, perhaps, explain that the military mind is seldom original, nearly all the advances that matter in military science being the work of civilians.

¶ *The idea of sea power*

The war dragged itself wearily through a period of years, and the issue of this long struggle was altogether in favor of Rome. She became the first Mistress of the Sea and severely interfered with the activities of commercial Carthage. It was, however, all merely a prelude to a far more deadly contest. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian commander, did not despair. He decided that by patience and prudence he might yet form an army to defeat the Roman legions. He raised his army and moved it to Spain. He trained his son Hannibal in the subtle military art. This young man was to prove himself one of the great generals of history. The Spanish town of Saguntum (now called Murviedro in Valencia) was in alliance with Rome and therefore entitled to Roman support. Hannibal besieged it successfully. Roman envoys were sent to Carthage asking that the author of the mischief be surrendered. They were informed that Saguntum was not mentioned in the treaty

existing between the two countries. This specious reasoning did not appeal to Quintus Fabius Maximus, Roman ambassador, who, doubling his toga in his hand and holding it up, said: "In this fold I carry peace and war. Choose!"

"Whatever you like," replied the Carthaginian.

"Then take war!" said Fabius forensically, letting loose his toga.

"We accept the gift," gleefully cried the senators of Carthage, "and welcome." Diplomacy was already akin to the actor's art.

¶ *Supreme importance of the Punic wars*

The First Punic War arose from one silly incident; the Second from another. So it is with most wars. Some occurrence, often the merest trifle, provides an excuse for a conflict of the bigger interests which diplomacy endeavors to obscure or conceal. The German historian Ihne writes of the incident in question: "War was resolved upon and declared on both sides; a war which stands forth in the annals of the ancient world without a parallel. It was not a war about a disputed boundary, about the possession of a province, or some partial advantage; it was a struggle for existence, for supremacy or destruction. It was to decide whether the Greco-Roman civilization of the West or the Semitic civilization of the East was to be established in Europe, and to determine its history for all future time. The war was one of those in which Asia struggled with Europe, like the war of the Greeks and Persians, the conquests of Alexander the Great, like the wars of the Arabs, the Huns, and the Tatars. Whatever may be our admiration of Hannibal and our sympathy with heroic and yet defeated Carthage, we shall nevertheless be obliged to acknowledge that the victory of Rome—the issue of this trial by battle—was the most essential condition for the healthy development of the human race."

¶ *Why Rome flourished*

Having established military and naval supremacy by this war in the Mediterranean, Rome turned her still bloody sword eastward and northward. For the first time wealth from conquest began to pour into the city. War became profitable and so there should be war, war, war; in every direction. We may jump a period. The population of the city went on increasing steadily and began to consist of all nationalities: the rich living in separate houses with their slaves; the poor in vast tenements in the lower parts, the slums. Conquered territories became the legitimate prey of governors and soldiers: from 73 to 71 B.C. the exactions of Verres, governor of Sicily, desolated the island more than any war had ever done. As a judge, he sold his decisions. He would steal pictures and works of art from private houses or temples, and crucify whoever resisted. On his return to Rome he was indicted and tried for these depredations. He was fined, but fled to save his plunder. The noble Mark Antony coveted the treasures of Verres, and had him put to death as the easiest method of acquiring them.

The religion of the Romans was the worship of local deities who could help them in their wars, their agriculture, or trade. It was entirely utilitarian and run by the state for the state. Their literature was negligible, their laws good, in a narrow materialistic sense. Their art and science were nil, although their architecture and road-making were excellent. This was a cruel, materialistic, solemn people, whose city was becoming the hub of human history.

¶ *The military machine perfected*

It was during the period of the Punic wars outlined above that the Roman military system worked itself up to an efficiency which was afterwards to enable the

great empire to be formed. Until the Punic wars the Roman armies consisted of levies of volunteers. The necessity for bringing Spain under Roman rule called for soldiers of a different type. Men were now required for foreign service. But those who had farms and holdings were no longer willing to spare themselves for long periods upon adventures which were not strictly defensive. In matters military, as we have seen, the Romans showed some ingenuity, and so it was not long before a way was found out of this difficulty. In every country there is nearly always to be found a number of men of adventurous spirit who have practically no ties, and who are willing to sell themselves for military service—that is, as hired murderers and assassins—to any good bidder. The Roman government conceived the idea of paying its soldiers, and at the same time enlisting them for long periods. A further inducement and bribe was held out in an offer of booty. Such is the make-up of human nature that in similar circumstances soldiers could be found anywhere at any time. *Woe to the vanquished, and the spoils to the victors*, although by no means an entirely new idea in history, were moral precepts developed to their very highest point after the Roman success in the Punic wars.

¶ *Rome brandishes the bludgeon*

The empire which followed the republic was based upon an appeal to the greed of the individual soldier; and an appeal to the collective greed of the whole people. Explorations and conquests were begun in all directions; every point of the compass was to be covered by the Roman legions. The amazing success of their military buccaneering experiments was due to several factors, chief of which were the dour fighting qualities of the Roman soldiers. They were in many respects like the Scotch and Ulster regiments in the modern

British army; while not greatly elated after a victory, a defeat left them almost equally unmoved. The geographical position of Italy was also an immense factor in their success: Rome was conveniently situated for protection from attack both by land and by sea; and also for the sallies of her soldiers and sailors against alien peoples. Another factor was the importance attached to road-building, because of the means a good road provided for the consolidation of conquest. In road-making the Romans showed some real genius. Furthermore, the ideal of those Romans who remained at home, especially those of the ruling class, was a stern and stoical one, which demanded self-sacrifice in matters appertaining to the growth of power, or to the addition of property to the commonweal; it was a nature that largely consisted of greedy patriotism. Indeed to the Romans more than to any other people we must attribute the inception and growth of greedy patriotic ideals; of national materialism. The city and nation became a military machine, and this, assisted by its roads and a realistic and extremely common-sense system of laws, developed into a state of an efficiency hitherto unknown in human nature. Rome turned her face to the world after the Third Punic War, and arrogantly waved her bludgeon in the air. In the course of the next five hundred years the result of this terrible military efficiency was to beat the rest of the world to its knees and thereby establish a powerful empire.

But about the middle period of Rome's greatness there arose in the Roman province of Palestine a set of ideas which was ultimately to negative bludgeon rule, and cause the disintegration of the empire founded upon force. We shall see how a few simple and revolutionary ideas affected the trend of subsequent history; how military despotism brought the reaction of peace and a message of pacifism, whose followers

taught the extremes of non-resistance; and how, in the first instance, it was fairly successful, but that afterwards this great message resulted, through the strange perversities of human nature, in wars and troubles quite as terrible as any hitherto experienced.

§ 2. JESUS AND HIS ETHICAL POETRY

WE have already seen that from time to time there come into the world men who prove themselves to be Great Codifiers of Morality. It seems as if morals are like inventions. Vague ethical ideas remain "in the air" for a time, and then they are captured, sifted and synthesized by a man of genius, who may, with the aid of his own mind, make an advance upon all that has preceded him. The great religions of the world have been formulated by men whose spiritual nature was highly sensitive to the yearnings and necessities of the contemporary human soul, and who were therefore able to capture a comforting idea. One must note that the basic religions of the world were founded by men; and that it is only in modern times that women have endeavored to compete with them in the formulation of ethical ideas.

¶ *Jews prefer future to past*

When Rome had achieved the state of expansion and development described in the last section, the religion of the western world was in a state of chaos. Egypt and Palestine possessed what may reasonably be called great systems of religion and, of the two, it was in Palestine that the truly religious spirit was more highly developed. Here there lived a people with the tradition of the Pentateuch and the prophets and differing profoundly from Euro-Asiatic antiquity in the conception

of the mythical "Golden Age." The Jews have proved their supreme wisdom over all other races by placing it in the *future* instead of in the past. In this they showed a truly wonderful knowledge of human nature: for men are more likely to be influenced in their conduct by what must inevitably happen in the future than by what has gone before and has perhaps become a hazy memory. The people of Israel had made for themselves a Book, which in turn governed them like an irresistible force. They had created the idea of a sovereign religion, superior to country, blood, and all other laws. Having decided for themselves that paradise was yet to come, one of their prophets* informed them of the manner in which the forthcoming of the Kingdom of Heaven was to be signalized: the Messiah, a Son of Man, was first to appear—a supernatural being in human form who was to rule over the "Golden Age." Every young Jew was taught these things, and they all looked forward with joyful anticipation to the coming of this Savior.

During the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, the child Jesus was born in the Roman province of Judea. A dreamy, imaginative boy, highly sensitive to the religious ideas with which his countryside was saturated, he began to believe that he himself was the long-expected Messiah. He possessed the soul of a poet, and gloried in the marvelous lyrical poetry of the Psalms of David and the imaginative flights of the old prophets of Israel; the enchanting dreams which they conjured up in his mind were ever a delight. He began to live in complete harmony with the marvelous and the supernatural, and cultivated a close mystical association with the Great Universal God of Israel, whom he regarded as his spiritual father. He was a mystic, not a metaphysician; a poet, not a scientist. Reason or logic

* Daniel, vii, 13 *et seq.*

found no conscious place in his mind. He placed himself above them and above his fellow men, deciding the calls of God to be of first importance.

¶ *Jesus abolishes death*

Sublime ideals grew within him. The greatest of these was a desire to abolish death spiritually by imparting to those around him a knowledge of the way to salvation. In this manner all men might be saved before the end of the world, which, according to authoritative prophets, must soon follow the appearance of the Messiah; that is, Jesus himself. He formed a fixed personal resolution to save his contemporaries. Never before or since has man dealt so admirably with the vexed problem of the future, or with more fixed determination or more desperate courage. He began to think only of his work and of humanity. He was a true mystical Son of the God of his fathers in Israel: and, as Renan says, "the highest consciousness of God which has existed in the bosom of humanity was that of Jesus." The young prophet wandered up and down his country holding open-air meetings, preaching his poetic doctrine of salvation. It was a religion of the heart, often bold and revolutionary in its principles.

¶ *The highest of human ideals*

"Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn. . . . Blessed are the meek. . . . Blessed are the merciful. . . . Blessed are the pure in heart. . . . Blessed are the peacemakers. . . . Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Consider that declaration attributed to him, which probably represents the peak of all ethical teaching the world has ever known: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that

hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. . . . For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans do the same? . . . Be therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Obedience to such precepts has always been rather difficult.

Nevertheless, this incomparable man advanced the general cause of religion in the world as no other has done. He was essentially a man of action, in the spiritual sense of the word. He lived as he taught, mixing freely with all classes, but making his chief appeal to the poor. He paid little attention to the rich, the learned, the sophisticated, or those influenced by Greek culture. He attacked the followers of the existing Jewish religion, which was largely one of ceremonial. Around him gathered a small group of admirers. The small bucolic sect thus created was one inspired by zeal. It was prepared to work and—most important of all—to suffer for the principles in which its members believed. There was never before in history any question of suffering for a religion.

¶ *Miracles*

The leader Jesus often spoke in parables, and in language which, though simple and direct in construction, contains the eternal truths of all religions: *The Kingdom of God is within you* was his favorite reply to all who pressed for subtle explanations. There are those who are inclined to pour scorn upon the miracles he achieved. But who can say what was possible and what was not possible in the psychological atmosphere that grew round this great man? Miracles were then regarded as the mark of the divine prophet, a faculty which had nothing surprising in it. There are thousands living today who firmly believe in Spiritualism and

faith healing. Jesus ridiculed human systems and ideas; what he demanded was faith. It is surprising what faith* can do, in any age. I quote from a newspaper reporter's description of a faith-healing service in the Albert Hall, London, 1930:

Principal George Jeffreys conducted the service as part of the annual demonstration of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, of which he is founder and leader. Nearly ten thousand people from many parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland and continental countries attended. A few of the pilgrims, total cripples, were wheeled into the hall by friends. *Women predominated*, and people from Wales—especially Cardiff and Swansea—formed about a tenth of the congregation. Amid ecstatic cries of "Hallelujah" and "Praise the Lord," followed by the singing of hymns by ten thousand voices, hundreds stood up and extended their hymn sheets at arm's length when Principal Jeffreys asked who had been cured of ailments at other faith-healing services. Twenty-six cripples claimed to have been cured and fourteen people, including a small boy, testified by standing up, that their sight had been restored. The faith-healing part of the service was affecting. Hundreds of afflicted men and women knelt in the arena, while the rest of the audience sang hymns with soft, crooning tunes. Principal Jeffreys went along row after row of the sick, laying his hands on their heads, anointing them with oil and offering prayers. "We feel the power of the Lord working mightily among us," he said, his face aglow with enthusiasm. As he passed, there was distressing emotion among some of those on whom he laid hands. Women moaned pitifully and their bodies and faces worked convulsively. One woman fainted and was carried out of the

* Faith is the ecclesiastical term for what laymen call credulity. C. D.

arena. *Many afterwards testified* that they had felt the power of healing upon them, *but there was no evidence of immediate cures.**

The italics are mine. Women and Welsh—the most easily moved sections of a British community; testimony of cures; but no evidence of immediate cures. Perhaps it was the same in Galilee; but who knows? We must leave it at that.

¶ *Moralists always politically dangerous*

The religion of Jesus is the religion of love. His teaching sprang from the need which the heart of his people felt for consolation during an exceedingly hard period of their history. It was a spiritual reality which was an inevitable reaction against the attitude of Roman rule. It was a revolt against a state of hypocrisy engendered by the religious formalism of the Jews. Such a man as Jesus was therefore a danger to the authorities of his own race; and in a lesser degree to the Roman authorities. As his mission progressed, more and more he attributed to himself a divine nature, and referred to himself as the Son of God. His utterances at times reached great flights of extravagance. The priests of the established religion began to consider him a nuisance, and at last, when he uttered the words, "I am able to destroy the temple of God and build it in three days," their opportunity came. The Jews arrested him, tried him for blasphemy, and found him guilty. The penalty was death, but the authority of the Roman governor had to be obtained before an execution. The enemies of Jesus informed Pontius Pilate that the blasphemer had taken upon himself the title of "King of the Jews," which amounted to rank sedition against the emperor. This statement of the Jewish authorities was inaccurate, but it had its effect. Jesus was crucified,

* Daily Chronicle, April 22, 1930.

though not before Pilate had tried his utmost to find some excuse for avoiding the extreme penalty. His was a difficult political position, and he merely did his duty in what was an unpleasant and somewhat troublesome case, which he would have liked to ignore.

¶ *The religion for "under dogs"*

The fidelity of the small band of Jesus's followers, their zeal, the inspiration and consolation of their sublime teaching, and lastly the crucifixion of their beloved Master, all helped in the spread of their gospel. A new spirit was infused into the world by virtue of the life and death of Jesus, and the emotional, poetic appeal of his ethics. Nine-tenths of the world have always been poor, and the chief appeal of the new religion was to this great majority of humanity. The new religion was entirely the personal creation of Jesus, and in its abolition of death was one of the most startling and original creations of the human mind. Since then hundreds of millions of men and women have lived and worked and suffered for it. No climate but knows it, and no land but has felt its influence. Pacifism, self-restraint, love; these were its ideals. Today one-third of the whole world acknowledges Jesus as its spiritual leader.

How can one estimate the effect which this profound doctrine had upon human nature in the years which followed the death of its founder? One may look at the history of the world before his birth and mission; and one may examine it afterwards. Then, by comparing the former period with the latter, some sort of conclusion may be reached. The reader will have, I hope, already received a rough general idea of the development of human nature, as indicated in the pages which have preceded. In the pages which follow I shall endeavor to indicate its subsequent trend.

I am purposely giving the above account of Jesus

and his teaching a very brief form, because the full story is well known. But I trust that the reader will not therefore receive an impression of the unimportance of this story in a consideration of human nature. The teachings of Christ came first as a small ray of light which slowly but steadily spread itself until it entered the innermost recesses of the households of a very large part of our world. The formation of the ideas represented in the doctrines of the Master took a period of perhaps three thousand years. They were the culminating point of all ethical teaching which had come before and, original in the form he gave them and in their cumulative energy, separately they had appeared elsewhere: in China, in India, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and a few of them even in Rome. The mind of the prophet of Nazareth welded them together, and imparted new life and a tremendous energy to them.

¶ *Advertising the Kingdom of Heaven*

North, south, east, and west went missionaries advertising Christ's Kingdom of Heaven. Tireless preachers with long beards and a fervent glint in their eyes traveled the world. St. Paul and St. Peter expanded Christ's teaching, the former introducing into it much of the doctrines of the advanced Platonists. In the early days the whole movement was Jewish, simple and direct. Now the new religion began to take to itself many of the essentials, rituals, symbols, and methods of the religions with which it came in contact; and men and women of all creeds and races joined to spread the good news and to lead a new life. To the proletariat of the Roman Empire the message came from heaven; to slaves everywhere it offered freedom beyond the grave. The meek, the humble, the downtrodden were to come into their own; power and riches were a handicap. The equality of men before God was proclaimed. It was good, good news for all.

§ 3. A SPIRITUAL CHALLENGE TO MATERIALISM

BEFORE the bludgeon which Imperial Rome still continued to wield, the spiritual gauntlet of Christianity was flung. The polytheistic, inclusive, and essentially tolerant religion of Rome was too weak to offer opposition. Tolerant religions are seldom strong. The monotheistic, exclusive, and extremely intolerant Christianity was a spiritual force without equal or parallel. There is a rule of life which applies to human nature as well as to plants or animals, and it is that failure to secure some degree of adaptation involves the penalty of extinction. The wisdom of St. Paul and St. Peter in modifying the extreme tenets of Jesus and including much paganism saved the life of the infant sect.

¶ *The world refuses to end*

The belief of the early Christians that the end of the world was at hand had to be modified immediately, because the world went about its business as usual; God, they declared, had granted a respite of a thousand years. Instead of putting all souls into an eternity of punishment, one out of every million would be spared. And so on. The Roman moralists, if we may judge from their writings, did not take the doctrines of the new teachers seriously, at all events for a long time after the very early period when they ignored them entirely. Nevertheless, unmistakably powerful ideas were in the minds of those wonderful groups of early Christian missionaries and their converts. The doctrine of love in its revolutionary form and the memory of the Cross took root in Rome itself and, to quote a French rationalist who is highly critical of Christianity,* "In the empire of the world, Jesus succeeded

* See P. L. Couchoud's *The Enigma of Jesus*, for an excellent modern account of the foundation and early history of the church. C. D.

Cæsar. On the golden coins of Byzantium his majestic countenance replaced the emperor's. In his name the globe, surmounted with a cross, was transmitted to Charlemagne. From him every crown derives. First, from Rome to Byzantium, he passes as a despot to medieval societies, and to modern nations. All power proceeds from, and returns to him. He becomes as he had appeared to the prophet of the Apocalypse, the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, from whose mouth cometh a sword. He in whose hands are the keys of death and of Hades. He who openeth and shutteth not, he who shutteth and openeth not."

¶ *Power of the spiritual in human affairs*

But, alas, his doctrines were taken, distorted, neglected, and often used as a means of inflicting cruelty and oppression. Through them human nature in the West became in many instances more mellowed, more comforted, and more exalted; and stirred to its very depths. Jesus and his doctrine were the mirage which attracted the mad rushes of the Crusaders; Jesus was the mystic lover inviting processions of virgins to take the veil. His name provided the motive force of many of the greatest achievements in painting and architecture; we have already seen how the religious impulse provided exactly the same stimulus in ancient Egypt. The effect of this one man's teaching upon the vagaries of human nature transcends all historical measure. The most sublime acts in the history of man may be attributed to the influence of his name; by its perversion, the most cruel, the meanest, and the most dastardly acts may be equally attributed to it.

It will remain for the historian of one thousand years hence to decide whether the evil of it all has been greater than the good. At present we are still in the shadow of the Cross, and often prejudiced for or against; but I think that the evidence will show that,

on the whole, the ideas of Jesus were progressive and effected an undoubted improvement in man's nature. For example, in time of war nations now have a bad conscience; they pursue their war nevertheless. But before Jesus, war was an accepted fact by conquerors and conquered; and there was no question of having a bad conscience about it. That in itself is an achievement and, should this bad conscience extend itself, it may at last end war. For this Christianity would ultimately be responsible. The German philosopher Nietzsche has said the most bitter things that can be said against Christianity, and also some of the wisest. He said, for example, that its chief object is to tame wild men, and then he points out that in so doing it may sap their virility. We shall see whether he is right.

† *Foundation of the church*

But to return. The missionaries who went into the world preaching the new doctrine established churches at Alexandria, Antioch, Thessalonica, Jerusalem; and a very important one at Rome in the center of the empire. This was about the year 50 A.D. The small organization in Rome consisted of Christianized Jews who came from Palestine or Antioch. It had existed for six or seven years when the apostle Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, who probably did not know him, and whom he had never seen. It had been established about ten years when the missionary Paul, laden with chains, requested to be landed in Italy and judged by Cæsar's tribunal. Peter, supposing he ever came to Rome, could have reached there only on the eve of his martyrdom. The dissertation by Irenæus regarding the foundation of the church at Rome by Peter and Paul is now said to have been a fiction.* Be this as it may, Rome gloried in having been the scene of a martyrdom of early Christians, and it preserved the tombs of Peter and Paul,

* See Henri de la Fosse, *Christianisme*. Also Couchoud, *op. cit.*

thereby acquiring a special importance. It claimed the apostolic origin of its episcopate, and soon gained a habit of domination over other Christian churches. It was of the utmost importance for the development and spread of the new doctrine that it should have a central organization armed with authority. It was necessary that a means of inspiring and supporting faith should exist; and faith could not be created without tradition or authority. Rome claimed to have both. One is permitted to doubt if the Christian religion could have been spread so efficiently without the accidents which brought Peter and Paul to Rome, the center of the empire and, more important, of the communications of the whole civilized world.

¶ *Truth in religion or advertising is unnecessary*

The doctrines of Jesus, now with a number of ingenious additions, began to be disseminated to the four points of the compass. The absolute truth or otherwise of what was thus disseminated did not greatly matter. For we must remember that, for something to have a profound effect upon our behavior, it is a matter of complete indifference whether it be fact, fiction, truth, half-truth, or merely lies. But *it is of the highest importance that we should believe it to be true*, as any advertising copy-writer or politician of the twentieth century, if he knows his business, will be able to tell you. The belief in its truth is the basis of religion, faith-healing, journalism; and all advertising. Persuasiveness, coupled with a desire to believe in those who are to be persuaded, is the basis of all propaganda, as when herds of men are caught under the influence of the herd instinct in time of war or religious service such as that described in the preceding section. I would at this point refer the reader back to earlier pages dealing with the lies spread during the World War, and their effect upon the behavior and attitude alike of civil

populations and soldiers. Ferocity can be created at will.

It was the duty of the heads of the Christian religion in Rome, as they now were, to persuade the rest of the world that they possessed a certain mystic power, such as is not possessed by other men. They seized upon a hint thrown out in the teachings of St. Paul to invent a new mystical, that is, intangible and invisible, substance called "grace." They claimed to possess a knowledge of the theory of grace, and the means whereby it might be made available for true believers. The appeal of grace was based upon the selfishness of man, and his desire for self-preservation and happiness after death. The religious man is probably the most selfish of all; for he thinks only of his own salvation. The most arrogant of all human beings are those who claim to possess knowledge of the means whereby we may achieve happiness during the eternity after death.

¶ *The meaning of "grace"*

As regards grace, the theory evolved in the first century may require a little explanation, for its essence is both difficult and important, and concerns us even now. In the form of religion now most familiar to us the theory is this: There is somewhere—God only knows where—a reservoir of the indefinable substance or quality called "grace." This reservoir can be tapped only by those who possess the right technical knowledge, which means that, except in rare and very special circumstances, it is available only through a "channel of grace," or in other words an ordained priest. "Grace" has always been very well advertised, and we are given to understand that by means of it the murderer, the adulterer, the cheat, the rascal, the crook, or even the real-estate agent may achieve blessedness in the hereafter—provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. In all the advertising matter that has been pub-

lished during the last nineteen hundred years we are told that "grace" may be obtained free; that it is available for the poor as well as for the rich. In actual practice it is often otherwise. But in every case one condition is essential: that the person who seeks "grace" should humble himself before the properly ordained priest. Samuel Butler was not quite right when he epitomized it thus: No gold, no Holy Ghost. It should be: No humility, no "grace." For without grace we poor human beings are doomed after death, and forevermore, as Robert Burns aptly put it,

To weep and wail
In burnin' lakes,
Where damnèd devils roar and yell,
Chained to their stakes.

This, you will agree, is an unpleasant prospect; and men will do much and pay heavily to avoid it. Some pay regular subscriptions, just as they pay insurance premiums, to keep the "channels of grace" working freely. Large establishments with expert personnel advertise grace, and send out travelers all over the world to extol its virtues. There are different brands of grace, each of which, like a brand of soap or any other commodity, claims to be better than all others. But as the real test of the efficiency of all brands of grace is in the hereafter, and there is no means whereby they may be tested here and now, mankind has often been greatly puzzled to know which one to patronize. At one time there was only one brand of grace. Now there are several hundreds, and new ones are being invented every day. This is a pity. Because the advertising of so many has tended to make men wonder not only which one really is the best, but whether any of them is of any use at all. That is the stage at which we have now arrived.

† *A corner in religion*

It was a monopolistic control of this mystical quality which gave the church its immense power and wealth. From the early period onward the church's whole aim was to achieve power; power over the lives and even the property of man. By subtle psychological exercises and wonderfully elaborate reasoning a scholastic theology began to be evolved. The gospels were relegated to a secondary place, and were only to be read by priests. Roman Christianity took the place of that of Jesus and his apostles; an elaborate organization grew, and the Roman Empire steadily succumbed before its growth, as we shall see later.

But here we may conveniently consider the development and expansion of at least one of the pagan ideas seized upon by the early church, one of considerable importance to human nature. I refer to Hell. With "grace" and almost contemporary with its development, and parallel to its development, there was an insistence upon the importance of Hell. The early fathers spent a great part of their time in working out the code of rewards and punishments to be given in the hereafter—a very elaborate code, which was required to keep large numbers of human beings in a state of continual fear and submission. This fear often made men behave very well indeed, although, looking back upon it, many of those good men appear to have carried their goodness a little too far. With regard to the doctrine of Hell, this proved to be of so much importance in the taming of a still semi-wild humanity, that we may profitably digress into a short account of its growth, from the early days of the church until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Hell reached the apogee of its importance. Some day an erudite historian must write a full "History of the Rise and Fall of the Empire of Hell," and its influence upon human

nature. A Spengler might give us its psycho-biological philosophy. But here I can only briefly sketch in three-dimensional terms the mere outline of that story.

§ 4. THE SUPERB INFLUENCE OF HELL

OF Heaven very little appears to be known to man, and the existing accounts are contradictory. We must accept it as a delightfully vague state or place in which souls are kept in an ecstasy of happiness after death, provided their owners have been good while on this earth. The immortality of the soul, I should explain, has been accepted as a certainty by religious teachers, by Christ and St. Paul, and we may say that, since Plato fairly settled the matter in his *Phædo*, it is an idea almost universally accepted. Immortality dates back at least six thousand years, for there are traces of it in the Egypt of that period; and it is with us today.

¶ *Hell very old and important*

Hell is a much more vivid conception. There is much literature about it; a hundredfold more than there is about Heaven, or even about that hazy state of which we hear regarding survival after death, to which neither Heaven nor Hell contributes either pleasure or pain. It is, happily, possible to offer, out of the mass of learned writings on the subject, a brief account of hellish history, geography, and social conditions, from which some notion may be gathered of the importance of the idea and the profound effect it has had in forging our natures.

To begin as close to the beginning as possible, we find the earliest traces of the idea of Hell in the account of Ishtar, the Venus of Babylon, who traveled into the land whence no man returns in search of her lover

Tammuz. But it must be acknowledged that the Babylonians did not treat this Hell of theirs at all seriously. In Egypt the sun god was said to descend into the underworld, of which there is some account, including the first mention of souls being weighed before Osiris and a calculation made of the punishment to be meted them if found wanting in goodness. Here we find the germ of a wonderful idea. The next record of Hell is to be found in Zoroastrianism which was founded about 1000 B.C., but in this case the bad souls were merely silently accursed. Indian Brahmins had a special Hell of their own, in which only moderate punishment was inflicted; Buddha was in favor of abolishing all this, and did abolish it during his lifetime. However, the sturdy old idea survived and in the priestly development of institutionalized Buddhism there is a Hell of quite a useful sort. Every one of these Hells was rather a pleasant place in comparison with the Hell evolved by the vivid imaginations of the early Christian Fathers. To them must be given the honor and the glory of having worked out a subtle and convincing doctrine of the eternity of punishment, not excluding the utter damnation of infants. With these ideas goes another which to many may seem peculiarly sadistic: the joy felt by the blessed at the sight of the torments of the damned. For this there was sound biblical authority—"I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh." (Proverbs 1, 26.) The great and holy St. Thomas Aquinas writes: "That the saints may enjoy their beatitude and the grace of God more richly, a perfect sight of the punishment of the damned is granted them." The idea of grace has already received some mention.

¶ *Authorities on Hell quoted*

St. Ignatius was the first of the fathers who insisted seriously that those who did not follow the faith should

go into unquenchable fire. Clement said that, when the righteous behold those who have done amiss being punished with grievous torments in unquenchable fire, they shall give glory to God. Justin Martyr, writing about 160 A.D., declared that if there was no Hell there could be no God and, according to Theophilus the sixth bishop of Antioch (168 A.D.), the unbelieving shall perish in everlasting fire, with tribulation and great anguish. Tertullian dwells piously upon the delights of those happy persons in Heaven who shall be able to wonder, laugh, rejoice, and exult at beholding kings and lesser persons frizzling and frying in the midst of the fire. In the second and third century, Hell becomes the boiling flood of Heaven's lake of fire, with the worms that ceaselessly coil for food round the body: that was the idea of St. Hippolytus, bishop of Portus. St. Cyprian and St. Clement concur. Eusebius in the third and fourth centuries declared emphatically that those who do not accept "grace," or who deny its efficacy shall be driven into Hell like so many sheep, and be led into everlasting fire. The bishop of Jerusalem, St. Cyril, cheerfully informs us that *the object of immortality* is that sinners may burn forever and never be consumed. St. Basil and St. Chrysostom say more or less the same thing: "But we have a sea of fire, far greater and fiercer than the Red Sea, having waves of fire, of strange and horrible fire; an abyss is there of most intolerable flame; everywhere fire may be seen moving round like a savage wild beast. In that place there is burning, but what is burned is not consumed."

In his celebrated vision of Utopia called "The City of God" St. Augustine discusses the last judgment and gives details of the rewards and punishments after death: "Hell, that lake of fire and brimstone, shall be real, and the fire corporeal, burning both men and devils, the one in flesh, the other in air." Infants must

suffer with the rest. St. Gregory of Nazianzus bursts into poetry on the subject, and his Muse has been (only moderately well) translated, as follows:

Whenever I snatch an hour of sleep,
 Ruthless is night to me;
 Mid searing dreams I lie and weep;
 A place of doom I see,
 And forms that stand in chill dismay,
 Before a judge whom naught can sway.
 On this side, boiling fierce and high,
 A fount of quenchless fire;
 On that, the worm that cannot die
 Feeds on with gnawings dire;
 Betwixt, with no indictment scroll,
 Stands conscience to accuse the soul.

¶ *Hell described by those who know*

In other works the Devil is represented bound by red-hot chains on a burning gridiron in the center of Hell. The screams of his never-ending agony make its rafters to resound; but his hands are free and with these he seizes the lost souls, crushes them like grapes against his teeth and then draws them by his breath down the fiery cavern of his throat. Demons with hooks of red-hot iron plunge souls alternately into fire and ice. Some of the lost are hung up by their tongues, others sawn asunder, others gnawed by serpents, others beaten together on an anvil and welded into a single mass, others boiled and then strained through a cloth, others twined in the embrace of devils whose limbs were afire. The fire of earth, it is said, is but a picture of that of Hell; the latter is so immeasurably more intense that it alone could be called real. Sulphur is mixed with it, partly to increase its heat and partly too in order that an insufferable stench may be added to the misery of the

lost; while, unlike other flames, it emits according to some visions, no light, that the horror of darkness may be added to the horror of pain. A narrow bridge spans the abyss, and from it the souls of sinners are plunged into the darkness that is below.* According to St. Thomas, the geographical position of Hell is in the center of our earth; another authority gives it as being in the tail of a comet. There is some doubt about this, even amongst the theologians. But Plancey, who gave the subject deep thought, quotes authority for placing it in the sun, and adds that sun-spots are congealed masses of souls being smelted. This seems to be as sound as any of the other theories.† Perhaps it is even more so. Our telescopes are still imperfect, and so we cannot yet prove Plancey's theory to be sound in the same way as Einstein's.

The list of authorities on Hell could be greatly extended. In every branch of instruction the Christian teachers, who had settled at Rome and were growing daily in power, believed it necessary to hold out a threat of the torments of Hell, in order to turn men towards goodness. But we should remember that with this threat of Hell there went a promise of a reward in Heaven should the sinner turn to a behavior that was exemplary in accordance with the code that was being evolved. Be it noted, however, that the detailed descriptions of the bliss in Heaven always fall far short of those which deal with Hell. I cannot explain why this should be.

At this point I should like to ask a question. If, as some modern anthropologists assert, man is good by nature, why all these threats of punishments and offers of reward in the hereafter?

* Vision of Tundale and others in Delepiere's *L'Enfer décrit par ceux qui l'ont vu*, quoted by Lecky.

† Dict. Infernal. Art. *Enfer*.

¶ *Good and bad results of hellish teaching*

There is no doubt but that the immediate results of the hell-fire teaching were good, from the point of view of the Christian church. Large numbers of men became better than they had been before. But the continual threats of hell-fire and brimstone had other profound effects: they caused many to tell lies about their thoughts and feelings, to become hypocrites; and Lecky believes that they created in the authorities of the new religion an indifference to suffering. It would be a terrible accusation to bring against Hell that it very largely explains why man began, about the third century A.D., to be a bigger hypocrite than he had ever been before that time. For such appears to be the case. The Holy Inquisition of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, then the Reformation and sixteenth-century Puritanism, both at first influences for orthodox good, added immeasurably to the development of hypocrisy, until we have it with us today in its finely perfected modern form.

¶ *Hell a useful institution*

Even if this reading of the evolution of human nature is incorrect, it should be a comfort to know that Hell is not nowadays entirely forgotten, although one or two modernist divines definitely state that the old idea was both ridiculous and immoral. For we must never forget that it was on the old idea that the new religion thrived and held its adherents in spiritual slavery—an excellent state for the good of their souls. In recent times an ardent Jesuit writer has equipped the souls of the wicked with an asbestos covering, so that they shall not perish in the flames of Hell. And good Father Furniss not so very long ago gave the world a delightful "Book for the Bairns" entitled "A Night in Hell." "Look," ecstatically writes the reverend father—"Look at that girl, what a terrible dress

she has on; it is made of fire. She wears a bonnet of fire which is pressed down all over her head. It scorches the skull and melts the brain. See!—she is on fire from head to foot. . . . Look at that boy. Listen! There is a sound like a boiling kettle. What does it mean? It means this: the blood is boiling in the boy's veins. The brains are boiling in his head. The marrow is boiling in his bones." In regard to a little baby he rhapsodizes, "Hear how it screams, see how it twists itself about. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet upon the floor. On its face is an expression of the most appalling despair." Unfortunately the Reverend Furniss was a little too graphic for modern sentimentalists, and some unprincipled skeptics and rationalists bought the work intended for children and read it as a humorous effort; then unfortunately it had to be withdrawn.

Hell has almost disappeared in the twentieth century. The word is now mostly used as a mere expletive. Once it flourished, and we must never forget that but for it the grand old priests of the church would never have gained so great a control over the minds of men; a control which was only partly obtained by the ethical value of the Master's teaching. The doctrine of retribution was the keystone of early Christianity.

§ 5. FROM EMPIRE AND CHURCH TO CHURCH-EMPIRE

THE Roman Empire spread itself over the western world from Spain to the Caspian Sea, northwards to Britain and southwards to Egypt. It was unlike any empire hitherto existing elsewhere, in that it was an organic whole and a military despotism. Roman law with an army behind it settled disputes in the village

of Londinium on the River Tamesis; in the fair territory of Hellas and in the proud city of Memphis. Roman legions marched along cattle tracks under the sweltering sun of Mauretania and through the frigid passes of the Caucasus mountains. The progression of the empire was upward, until about a hundred years after the execution at Golgotha of that then obscure felon Jesus by order of the mighty representative of a still mightier emperor sitting with his mistress over a thousand miles away. By then the Christian sect had almost become an *ecclesia militans*, a military church, at all events in spirit. For it was prepared to break down all barriers set up by human power; and no compromise was possible. The early church was socialistic, in so far as it declared all men, even slaves, to be equal before God. While the period before Christ was one of active conquest by the Roman power, that for four centuries afterwards was one in which endeavors were made to preserve and consolidate its gains. The masses now became restless and the policy of "bread and circuses" became one of great importance for the well-being of the state.

¶ *Despotism and debauchery*

Under the influence of imported ideas from the East, from Egypt, and from Greece, the hard old family institution weakened. Debauchery, quack religions, "mysticism," extreme wealth and extreme poverty, and loose morals entered into the every-day life of the people. Some of the emperors were little better morally than the meanest of their subjects; others were worse; not one of them was what we should call a "nice person." Caligula killed his grandmother; and forced his father-in-law to cut his own throat. He lived incestuously with all his sisters, one of whom he took from her husband and kept openly as his wife. When once he fell sick, he made a will leaving her the entire

empire. He organized deceits to prove his personal bravery. His head was bald, and the rest of him hairy. "On which account," says Suetonius, "it was reckoned a capital crime for any person to regard him from above when he passed in the streets, or so much as to name a goat."

¶ *Caligula, the god-emperor*

Sometimes he would appear in public dressed like a woman; at others habited like a private soldier, but with a golden beard fixed to his chin, and holding in his hand a thunderbolt or trident—distinctions of the gods. He would tog himself up and pose as Venus. Sending once in the middle of the night for a few consuls he placed them on a stage (he loved the theater) and then all of a sudden pirouetted out before them dressed in a long flowing robe to show his grace, while the band played an accompaniment. If any person made the least noise while the emperor publicly danced, that person was dragged out to be beaten and scourged with his own imperial hand. But Caligula was not entirely without a sense of humor: for he dispatched a knight to King Ptolemy in Mauretania, a journey of a thousand miles by land and sea, bearing a letter with the words, "Do neither good nor harm to the bearer." A gladiator named Columbus, who won his combat with only a slight flesh wound to show for his victory, had some poison rubbed into the scratch by order of the emperor, who afterwards called the poison Columbinum. He took an active part in the circuses, and was a good driver of the chariot. He caused his soldiers to enjoin complete silence the night before a race, so that the sleep of his favorite horse Incitatus should not be disturbed. "How I wish," he once said, "that the Roman people had only one head, so that I could remove it with a blow." He was not the best of monarchs, but there was an imaginative grandeur about

his practice of evil which assures him of his place in a history of human nature.

¶ *Sexual frolics of Messalina*

Nor were the wives of the emperors paragons of queenly virtue. Take Messalina, for example. Tacitus says that the facility of her ordinary adulteries produced such satiety that she broke forth into unheard-of excesses. Modesty forbids one from dwelling upon them. Occasionally she would organize a drunken sexual jamboree, such as one now sometimes sees on the films. "In the middle of autumn, and in her own house, she celebrated the vintage. The wine presses were plied, the vats flowed, and tipsy ladies danced madly around them. Messalina herself, with her hair loose and flowing, her illicit lover beside her wearing buskins, tossed her head about. Around danced the wanton choir in obstreperous revelry." She was a woman of infinite frolics. She would command a man to come to her bed, cast him aside when he was exhausted; and then call "next please." It is good to have to record of this woman that at last she repented of her sin and ended her life in a fit of remorse. Her husband the emperor, who was boozily banqueting when he heard the news of her death, did not bother even to inquire the manner of it; but merely called for another drink, and went on as if nothing had happened.

¶ *Nero marries a man*

The story of Nero needs no retelling. This bright young spark wallowed in defilements and atrocities. He had at all events the courage of his sexual convictions, for he publicly married a young man named Pythagoras, putting on the sacred nuptial veil and "during the ceremony," a contemporary declared, "everything was exposed to view which, even in a female, is covered by night." He was believed to have set fire to Rome, just for a lark, and in order to suppress this rumor he

falsely charged with the guilt and punished "with the most exquisite tortures the Christians who were hated for their enormities." One is inclined to picture him as a fat, sensuous old reprobate; but like the good he died young, at thirty or thereabouts. His was a full, free life.

The natural spirit of cruelty steadily increased in the Roman Empire. No longer was there the simple, if stern, code of the Republic. Unbridled cruelty now became common in every grade of society, from the emperor's entourage downward. It was a fruitful soil for the new religion, and especially for one which, so to speak, had abolished death and suffering. The activities of the Christians were directed against the cruel attitude toward life. Little by little the missionaries and their followers attracted the attention of the authorities by their high-minded preaching against lust and cruelty and all that was evil. At first the dislike of those in power for the new preachers was slight, but it grew into a hatred.

¶ *Persecution evokes courage*

The celebrated persecutions began, and as they progressed a transcendent courage was evoked by them in the hearts of the persecuted and those liable to be persecuted. From the reign of Nero in 54 A.D. to that of Diocletian (284 to 305 A.D.) those dreadful persecutions grew in volume and intensity, until they were proved, by the extreme courage of the converts who were rapidly increasing in numbers, to be quite useless for their purpose. The reason for this was that martyrdom was deemed to be not merely honorable, but a certain way of attaining salvation. Actual *love of death* appeared in the world; an astounding testimony to the limits to which men and women are prepared to go for an inspired ideal.

Tertullian mentions how in a little Asiatic town the entire population once flocked to the Roman proconsul,

declaring themselves to be Christians and imploring him to execute the decree of the emperor and grant them the privilege of martyrdom. The bewildered functionary asked them whether, if they were so weary of life, there were no precipices or ropes by which they could end their days; and he put to death a small number of the suppliants and dismissed the others. It is difficult for us, who live in an age when religious enthusiasm has lost much of its vigor, to imagine the fervor and courage of those Christians in the face of so much danger. Surely man is a very brave creature. The authorities of Rome, with the aid of their armies and supported by the rabble, made successive efforts to exterminate them completely. It must be said in their favor that they did so believing that they could only in this manner rid the empire of a grave danger to its very existence. It was for precisely the same reason that, one thousand years later, the flourishing church instituted the Inquisition, that is, because the Papacy firmly and honestly believed that heresy and heretics were undermining its power.

All repressive movements, or nearly all, are based on the same set of reasons: fear or selfishness, or both, with their subsidiary instincts. Selfishness to preserve power or gain it; and fear lest it be lost. In the present age such persecution on behalf of the government would not be tolerated by the most ardent supporters of that government. Only a few hundred years ago the massacres of the Irish by the English were approved by men who have achieved a reputation for their broad humanity, men such as Edmund Spenser and John Milton, the former a poet of chivalry, the latter a poet of deep religious feeling. Against this we should weigh the military and political measures taken by the English against the Irish in post-war years, when "Black and Tannery" (as the Irish humorously called it)

caused so much execration to fall upon the fair name of England that some settlement of an age-old question had to be arranged at any cost.

¶ *Marcus Aurelius, moralist and murderer*

It should be mentioned that such atrocities were almost as common under the "good" Roman emperors as under the bad. That great moralist Marcus Aurelius gave his authority to torture and human incineration in the public arena. One has to skip over a thousand years of human history to meet with any persecution and orgy of sadism on a similar scale, when the religious zeal of Christians was sublimated into a spirit almost as fiendish. One finds it again in the slave movement of the eighteenth century, though not so publicly expressed. Nor is it yet dead in the world. Nowadays our tortures take a different form; they are more refined and are done on the sly as, for example, in certain prisons in every country. And under military law.

¶ *The most important years of western history*

While Rome was steadily declining—the Rome of millions of slaves, of "bread and circuses," of vice and weakness in every fabric of the body politic—the Christian religion, now a church well and truly established, gained more and more converts. The zeal of the converts knew no bounds in proselytizing, for was not their religion "catholic," universal? In the first three hundred years after the birth of Christ we see an empire fighting what seemed to it a political or social disease, and without great success. The year 311 was, to my mind, one of the most important, perhaps the most important in the whole history of human nature: it was then that the empire, represented by its supreme magistrate the Emperor Galerius, published a decree which placed the Christian religion on the same footing before the law as the worship of the gods of Rome. When Constantine, the emperor at Constantinople

(which had now become the seat of government for the Eastern Roman Empire), decided that it was politically expedient for him to become a Christian and to make Christianity the official religion, the fate of the hitherto struggling creed was decided. From about 337 onward it was no longer merely not a crime to be a Christian; it was honorable to be one. What is honorable or dishonorable is a matter of fashion, depending upon the moral code commonly observed at any period. At Rome the words of the emperor were the moral code. From that point it was but a small move to a direct reversal of the attitude of mind which officialdom had adopted hitherto; for in human affairs such changes are merely a question of power, often in its crudest form of brute force. Official lawyers now drew up edicts, the objects of which were to make it uncomfortable for citizens of the Roman Empire not to be Christians. *To differ from the beliefs of the church was to break the law.* Those people who had sufficient independence of mind to do so took the place of the persecuted Christians; and martyrdom changed its form.

† *Heroic heretics*

But, the *heretics*, as these vile law-breakers were called, had not an inward moral feeling of superiority such as the early Christians had; they had not "the Kingdom of Heaven" on the horizon of their lives; they had no centralized force, no general staff, and very little ardor or enthusiasm except of a negative sort. They were able to offer little resistance and therefore became the legitimate targets of their superiors in power. The whole gamut of oppression started off afresh on a different cycle. The meetings of the heretics were indignantly broken up, their organizers thrown into prison, heavily fined, and their property confiscated. Their books were meticulously sought out to be

burned by the executioners of the state; whoever concealed one of these poisonous works was doomed to capital punishment. The emperors helped the church: the clergy were exempt from burdensome offices and taxes and, most important of all, they were permitted to *receive bequests*. The military power of the Roman state was behind them, and now they had permission to acquire property, real and personal. One further step in the mentality of the leaders of Christianity and we have a church quietly but steadily taking to its bosom the very materialism which it had succeeded in undermining. A hundred years later (440 A.D.) we have the papacy.

¶ "*Let us smash our enemies*"

Another hundred years after that we see the church beginning to dominate the western world. Christianity and empire became one; a church-empire, the most powerful human institution which has ever existed, with the longest line of rulers in the whole of history, and an unwritten motto, "*Smash our enemies.*" To describe the influence which this mighty institution has had upon the destinies of millions of men and women is beyond the scope of any writer. It transcends human imagination. From cradle to grave every individual in whole provinces and countries of Europe was to come under its power. Beginning with the work of the ethical poet Jesus, a sublime teaching, simple and direct, which inspired men to face torture and death for the Master's sake, it grew into a vast political organization of immense power, wealth, and greed. Behind all this was a set of casuistic doctrines which were largely modifications of the original teachings. By the fourth century the church at Rome had settled down to the acceptance and practice of a number of dogmas. God now consisted of three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Three-in-One and One-in-Three: an idea bor-

rowed from the Egyptians who had taken it from the Assyrians a long time before. For the benefit of women the mother of Jesus was given an aristocratic title and proclaimed to be the mother of God; another Egyptian idea. Following the Buddhist system of cleansing the mind by a full statement of the iniquities it contains, a system of confession was established; forerunner of the psychoanalysis preached by Freud, Jung, and others fourteen hundred years later. A whole series of new and elaborate ceremonies and formulæ was drawn up by the general staff in Rome. Baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage were established as sacraments originating in the teaching of Jesus. From birth to the grave the life and fortune of an individual came under the sway of the church, which claimed omnipotence and infallibility.

¶ *Invention or discovery of Purgatory*

Purgatory was an invention of Pope Gregory the Great; and it proved to be extremely lucrative by encouraging payment for masses for the dead. The immediate result of Constantine's conversion was a recrudescence of mythology and a very thorough materialization of the Christian cult at Rome, where the supreme authority grew increasingly mundane. The high ideal of Jesus was resuscitated by a few noble men, who sought refuge in a monastic life. A further batch of subtleties was gradually introduced and, in the fifth century what had originally been the center of the noblest ideal known to man, became the nucleus of a foulness and corruption almost unbelievable. Squabbles about doctrine began; petty rivalries, insurrections, and schisms were the order of the day.

¶ *Multiple personality*

The most learned men in the church developed multiple personality; alongside of simple piety and the out-

ward expression of noble ideals we find unparalleled stupidities and cruelties. The men who distinguished themselves by the elaboration of official doctrines were called the fathers of the church. They were notable for an immensity of theological learning, coupled with a credulity worthy of any twentieth-century newspaper reader. St. Jerome, a sensuous and passionate man who produced an excellent translation of the New Testament, bolstered up his theology by tall stories of centaurs and satyrs who verbally declared the godliness of Jesus. He says: "All Alexandria has seen a live satyr, who after his death was put in pickle to be brought for exhibition before King Constantine at Antioch."

¶ *A mindless period of history*

When the Emperor Constantine had set up his new capital at Constantinople, the Christian bishops there assumed an equal status with that of the bishops of Rome; a schism was the result, giving the world two churches each claiming infallibility for its doctrines. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, for a time, all mind in the western world except that represented by the priest ceased from functioning. From about 500 A.D. to the twelfth century, we find a blank in the development of human intellect in Europe. The middle of this period is reckoned by all reputable historians to be the blackest in history: wars, depredations, sacks of cities, no commerce, little learning except in the monasteries, no science, no law but that of brute force. Movements of vast hordes from the north; their conversion to Christianity with little or no mollifying effect upon their nature; plunder and rapine; feudal lords stealing land; and everywhere the representatives of the church either looking on or taking a share in the booty. The western world was once more in the throes of a struggle for power. The Roman Empire gave the world Roman law, a highly materialistic system. It passed on to the

church the tradition of a world-empire, which the church happily blended with Christ's universal kingdom. The empire showed that, in nine arguments out of ten, force is best. It transmitted the idea of militarism. And, above all, it crystallized the idea of wealth.

§ 6. THE SPORTING SPIRIT OF ROME

I REMEMBER when I was a boy at school my head master, a clergyman, used to preach a sermon to us every Sunday evening upon some aspect of Roman history. He would often emphasize the *gravitas* of the Romans, a word which has no equivalent in English, but denotes that combination of serious-mindedness and dignity which are supposed to be the chief characteristics of Roman nature. The remainder of the sermon was given to a glorification of the sterling qualities of Imperial Rome, into which we shall now briefly inquire.

¶ *Peace by force*

We have already seen that the empire was created by the use of the bludgeon; it was based entirely upon the judicious but often violent use of force. It was Roman statesmen who evolved an idea which for sheer stupidity is unsurpassed in the annals of human nature, one which has unfortunately come down to us and prevails in the world at this very moment. This inane idea was (and is) that the only means of assuring peace is by armament. The *Pax Romana* or "Roman Peace" depended entirely upon the sword; but when the arm behind the sword lost its strength, and the brain which guided the arm lost its strength of character and cunning, the much-vaunted peace proved to be a mere illusion. The Roman mind with only one or two excep-

tions *never* rose above the bludgeon. In Rome there was never representative government, and although a strong political structure and an ingenious system of materialistic law were evolved they both depended not upon right but upon might. The difference between the Greek humanist and scientific outlook on life and the cruelly brutal one of the Romans may be seen in their different treatment of the lower classes and criminals. The Greeks used their malefactors as material for medical and surgical research-work, that is, for vivisection; the Romans used them to provide public amusement either as food for wild beasts, or as gladiators in the arena. There was a complete absence of science in Rome. Even the science of war made practically no advance amongst the Romans, who had mostly a narrow and enslaved intelligence and were ruled by a materialistic bureaucracy. Their true mentality may best be estimated from a consideration of the public "games" or spectacles, which increased in number and importance until the empire fell into decline and ultimately collapsed. It is essential for us to look a little closely at these spectacles, for in them we find the most striking illustration of the sheer brutality of the Roman mind.

¶ *Games preferred to bread or money*

The spectacles were originally religious celebrations.* They existed under the early republic, but later, in the time of the Emperor Augustus they became the chief means whereby the government kept the proletariat contented. "Bread and circuses" went together to hold in a state of political subjection the populace of Imperial Rome. "The Roman people," says a Latin writer, "love most of all two things: bread and games; even distributions of money were less desired than

* For most of the facts in this section I rely upon Ludwig Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms* (Ed. Freeze & Magnus).

games, for gifts of bread and money pacified only a few but games *the whole people*." That oleaginous and smug person Marcus Aurelius, who has achieved an undeserved reputation for humanity, was entirely in favor of the spectacles. With the exception of Tiberius, all the emperors approved of them. Aurelian distributed handkerchiefs that had to be waved when a gladiator killed his opponent; Marcus Aurelius did public business from the royal box; Nero watched the games from a drunken couch; and several emperors had a part in the conception of the gigantic circus building. We read of the great affability of Claudius in the circus and his habit of sending round autograph notes to his friends during a spectacle. This emperor carried the habit of exchanging vulgar and obscene jokes with the mob to an excess which our more gentle manners deem to be both impolite and impolitic. All the same, those old Roman emperors were not always without a sense of humor; Gallienus sent a wreath to a fighter who had missed his beast ten times. When the mob roared its protest, a royal herald announced that to miss a beast ten times was no easy matter.

¶ *Spirit of the circus*

The yells of the people were recognized by the politicians as expressions of popular wishes, and it was at the spectacles that the only liberty of speech existed; here any man could shout his gibe even at the emperor. Diocletian, it is said, left Rome because he could no longer endure the outspokenness which met him at the circus. For a period of over five hundred years the games pervaded every man's thoughts. "The great spectacle was the spectators. Long rows of rising seats were thronged with a mass of men moved by one passion, almost a mania. Near the close of a race, suspense, anxiety, fury, joy, savagery burst forth. Their eyes ever fixed on the chariots, they clapped and shrieked with

all their lungs, sprang up, bent over, waved handkerchiefs, incited their favorites, stretched out their arms as though they could reach the course, gnashed their teeth, groaned, threatened, exulted, triumphed, or swore. The winning chariot aroused a thunderous applause—and loud curses from the losers—which echoed over the deserted streets of Rome, announcing to those who stayed at home the end of the race, and struck the ear of the traveler when Rome had vanished from sight. The races lasted intermittently, except for short pauses at midday, from daybreak to sundown; but the people sat there patiently despite sun and rain and never wearied of following their idolized sport with the same passionate attention.” *

¶ *A thousand years of mass brutality*

Five centuries after the foundation of Rome the first gladiatorial fights were held; at the end of the fourth century A.D. the Roman amphitheater was still a center of attraction. At first there were few combatants, but later the numbers of those who took part as well as the numbers and style of the spectacles became more elaborate. Ten thousand men fought in the great shows of Augustus, and the same number took part in the four months' circus given by Trajan after the conquest of Dacia. With the spread of the Roman Peace over the world the captured natives of conquered territories were dragged into the arena and butchered to make a Roman holiday: tattooed savages of Britain, Germans from the Rhine and the Danube, Moors, Negroes, Christians, Jews, Franks, Egyptians, Goths, and Samaritans. Gladiators would appear fighting singly or in troops. Battles were waged in which thousands had to fight to the death, leaving the arena littered with bleeding and battered bodies. Here women often fought and, under Nero, even women of noble birth;

* Friedländer, *op. cit.*

but a wave of sentimentalism in 200 A.D. brought a prohibition on female combats.

To the modern globe-trotter who visits Rome I would say that, having first read his eulogistic guide-book on the cultural influence of the Romans, let him then contemplate the ruins of the Coliseum which the Flavians built about 90 A.D. Here it was that the gladiators fought who were recruited from the prisoners of war of the nations which came under the benevolent influence of their civilized conquerors. Among the gladiators there were also condemned prisoners, unruly slaves, and often volunteers. It did not matter much whether those chosen for the arena were good fighting material, for if they were not they were simply thrown as titbits to the beasts, to be eaten while the crowd yelled its delight. As time went on almost any excuse was made for hurling a man into the arena. There is a record of a poor wretch who was flung there simply because he was naturally deformed. The Emperor Claudius would make men face the animals for the slightest offenses—carpenters and property men for bungling a change of scenery. Every successful military campaign provided hundreds of prisoners for the great school of gladiators, and the amphitheater was deemed by everyone in Rome to be the readiest means of providing for their keep.

¶ *The great career of gladiator*

There were many schools for gladiators besides the great imperial one. Often the proprietors of these schools were women, with whom the gladiators were always popular. A lady named Hecatæa of Thasos owned an excellent training establishment, and spent many leisure hours with its inmates. Gladiators passed from owner to owner by purchase, sale or public auction. In this holocaust of human debauchery were to be found all types of men, but the most interesting of all

were the professional, volunteer gladiators who fought their way to fame and fortune as our modern prize-fighters or bull-fighters do. Each volunteer took an oath to the effect that if he failed in his duty as a fighter he would suffer himself to be whipped with rods, burned with fire and killed with steel. "How many idle men," exclaims Tertullian, "contract themselves out to the sword for sheer love of combat." The criminal could fight his way to liberty and the slave to freedom; the poor soldier could gather a fortune in money; the outcast could retrieve his character. It was a wonderful system. Everything possible was done by the government to add to the spectacular appearance of the fighters in the arena. They were given a splendid equipment, rich and artistic armor, helmets with embossed designs, elaborate shoulder-pieces, belts, breastplates, and weapons. Their helmets were decorated with feathers, and their attire was laced with gold and often set in jewels. The bull-fighters of modern Spain or the prize-fighters in England or America are not more beloved by their bloodthirsty mobs than the Roman gladiator was by his. The provision of fighters became a profitable business, far more profitable than that of the modern organizer of sports. It is estimated that the annual outlay by *entrepreneurs* for the spectacles outside of Rome, that is to say for those of less importance, must have amounted to five million dollars; and this at a time when men were cheaper than they now are even under military conscription.

¶ *The physical and spiritual care of gladiators*

Great care was taken of the physical well-being of the fighters. The schools were situated in a healthy locality, and men were given the best of food. One writer says, "Fashionable surgeons attended to their wounds and the best physicians supervised the administration of their diet; a special class of slaves was edu-

cated for their massage." Even their spiritual welfare was looked after by their masters: to encourage a common worship of the gods of their patrons, the gladiators were permitted to form the equivalent of our Sunday-school groups. They were fattened for the arena, spiritually, mentally, and physically. But among these gladiators there were always large numbers of men who had lost courage and abandoned all hope. This was more especially true amongst those called bestiaries, or men chosen to fight for their lives with wild beasts. Suicide was common among them, notwithstanding the elaborate precautions taken by their masters to prevent it. Seneca tells us of a man, chosen as a morsel for the beasts, who was being drawn on a chariot to the arena, carefully guarded by the soldiers standing on each side of him. He pretended to be overcome by sleep and, letting his head drop between the spokes of the wheel, so arranged for his neck to be broken. Twenty-nine Saxons who were chosen for the arena strangled one another with their bare hands rather than appear.

We pride ourselves on living in an age of enlightened advertisement, but it is doubtful if any modern advertising king could surpass in ingenuity the copy and the methods employed by the Romans to work up enthusiasm for the spectacles of the Coliseum. Announcements were painted on walls in all parts of the city of Rome, and even on the gravestones. Examples of these have been found in the ruins of Pompeii.

† *The royal box*

On the evening before a spectacle there was always held the Feast of Gladiators, a free feed at which every imaginable luxury was provided, and to which curious members of the public were admitted. Some of the men would eat and drink frugally, to conserve their strength, while others acted upon the motto *Eat, drink*

GRAND SPECTACLE

Thirty Pairs of first class Gladiators!
All Members of the celebrated Quinquennalis,
including Gnæus Alleius and Nigidius Maius

WITH UNDERSTUDIES TO REPLACE THE DEAD

WILL FIGHT

in Pompeii

From the 24th to the 26th of November.

ALSO BAITING OF ANIMALS

LONG LIVE THE QUINQUENNALIS

and be merry for tomorrow we die. This phrase probably originated in the Feast of Gladiators. The professionals would say good-by to their families and the Christians would hold a final prayer-meeting. All would retire to rest early in order that they might be fresh for the battle. The spectacle would open with a full-dress parade of the fighters round the arena, and they, holding their weapons in the air, would shout as they passed the royal box, "Hail! emperor! We who are about to die, salute thee." Those who appeared for the first time had then to run the gantlet, after which the giver of the spectacle would descend into the arena and examine the sharpness of the weapons. Then there were mock fights, followed by the real thing: fights with sharp weapons and fights by half-naked, armorless and mobile men, with net, trident, and dagger, against men in visor, shield, and sword. Others with huge square shields and short straight swords met men heavily armed with small shields and sharp scimitars. There were fights between men on horseback or be-

tween British war-chariots, in which a second man concerned himself only with the management of the horses.

¶ *Importance of thumbs*

When a fighter was struck a deafening roar went up from the assembled populace, "*Strike! Let him have it!*" If a struck combatant fell to the ground, the giver of the spectacle had the right of deciding his fate; but this decision was almost invariably left to the spectators. The wounded man would lay his shield down and lift up a finger of his left hand as a sign that he prayed for his life. The mob signified mercy by lifting up their thumbs; by turning them down they decided his death. "Brave gladiators often rejected popular interference and made signs that their wounds were slight and that they could still go on: such met with pity; the faint-hearted aroused the anger of the populace, who thought it an insult that a gladiator should not wish to die. Cowards were driven in with whips and hot irons and goaded into fight. The mad crowd would shout '*Lash him, kill him, burn him! Why does he die so sullenly?*' " * The victor often had to fight an understudy immediately afterwards. Between fights the ground saturated with blood was shoveled over by boys or slaves and received a sprinkling of fresh sand. "The victors brandished their palms and the fallen were taken off by men garbed as Mercury the God of the Nether World; others, wearing the mask of the Etruscan demon Charon, probed them with hot irons to see if they were shamming death. Hearses stood ready in anticipation; on them the fallen were borne into the mortuary through the gate of the Goddess of Death. Any who still showed signs of life were killed." † Such was the mentality of the glorious Roman Empire.

The expansion of the empire meant the discovery of

* Friedländer, *op. cit.*

† *Ibid.*

many wild beasts that had been hitherto entirely unknown to the Roman people. As early at 186 B.C. there was held in Rome an exhibition of animals, and it was not long before the practical Romans decided that to tear a man to pieces by wild beasts would be an admirable and salutary method of inflicting the death sentence. Whatever else may be brought against them we cannot reasonably say that they were hypocrites; they believed in public executions, and there were no hole-and-corner or secret executions such as take place in civilized countries today. The criminals of Rome, furthermore, had a sporting chance of survival. The public loved to see a good fight in which a man was matched against a lion, a panther, a bear, a leopard, or a pack of hungry wolves. Roman princes were proud of their animal executions. The imperial menageries grew to such an extent that they became a costly burden. The problem of feeding the flesh-eating beasts was often acute, but an emperor solved it by feeding them with living criminals.

¶ *Ingenuity of circus managers*

In the amphitheater the animals were made to fight one another. Even they were trained to be fierce; they were driven onto the great stage with the sound of whips, pricked, hot irons applied, straw dolls thrown in front of them to be angrily tossed; or they were tied together with long ropes to fight like Kilkenney cats. The populace roared with pleasure to see animals rend each other's flesh. The men who had to face them were either insufficiently armed or tied to stakes and defenseless. The victims with limbs torn asunder and covered with blood were seen begging not for mercy but for death. By way of diversion, criminals would appear in tunics embroidered with gold and purple, wearing crowns; suddenly the garments would burst into flame and the wearers would burn to death. Christians who

were condemned to death for alleged complicity in the burning of Rome were either tarred and resined to be used as torches to illuminate other spectacles proceeding in the arena, or they were wrapped in hides to give them a flavor of fresh meat so that the wild dogs or wolves let loose upon them might devour them with greater appetite. A minor scene which never failed to draw a roar of obscene laughter was the public castration of a victim in the amphitheater. "There," says Tertullian, "we have seen the castration of Atys with a man burnt alive to represent the living pyre of Hercules on Mount Cæta." There were other scenes of indecency which will not bear mention here.

It is all very well for those writers whose custom it is to extol the glory of the Roman Empire to slur over or omit entirely any mention of these spectacles. Some there are who assert that it was a less important aspect of Roman life, one of little significance in a general consideration of Roman history. I do not think so. There is hardly a Latin writer who does not mention the spectacles, and in Latin literature there is only one who makes any pretense to be displeased with the depraving sight; *nowhere* in the whole of the Latin literature of the empire can one find a note of horror at the inhuman delights of the amphitheater. Where the gladiatorial games are mentioned, they are mentioned with either approval or indifference. Epictetus reckons that among the trivialities and banalities of boring and tedious conversation is a discussion of gladiatorial shows—a thing to be avoided. The gentle Ovid in his great pornographic masterpiece (beloved of all young classical students) called "The Art of Love," recommends the blood spectacles as providing good opportunities for sexual advances. The noblest families of Rome fully approved and frequently took an active part in organizing the public slaughter of men.

¶ *The attraction of torture and execution*

All this provides an interesting problem for the social psychologist. There is no doubt but that the gladiatorial games became a habit and the butchery of fellow creatures a firmly fixed attitude of mind in Imperial Rome. There was also the attraction which has ever existed throughout human history attaching to torture and execution. Again, there was the hypnotic effect of vastness and splendor. The gigantic amphitheater with its royal box, its rows of senators and aristocrats, the farther rows of priests in their holy vestments; the rows of distinguished strangers, foreign kings, and ambassadors; and behind these almost fifty thousand representatives of the public on marble seats rising tier above tier. The color and glamor of it all! Far away on the top crowded the ragged mob. This mass of brutal humanity spread itself over the magnificent Coliseum, whose impressive architectural lines were emphasized by rich and artistic decorations. Around the arena itself fragrant fountains threw jets of perfumed water to cool the air and refresh the stinking, perspiring crowd. As a protection against the sun, an awning of unparalleled proportions could be spread over the whole. Rumble of drum and blare of trumpet announcing the beginning of a fight would reduce the immense restless and noisy audience to a state of silent expectation.

¶ *Psychological effect of mob on individual*

The effect of this atmosphere upon a person of sensibility and humanitarian principles is well illustrated by St. Augustine, who tells a convincing story of his friend Alypius, an ardent Christian. This young man was dragged off to be a spectator by a few enthusiastic followers of sport. He declared that, as a Christian, his body might go but not his soul; for he intended to keep his eyes shut and would in reality be absent. He did so,

until a deep roar went up from the crowd at some incident of the fight. Struck by a very human curiosity, he opened his eyes. The excitement of the spectacle changed him. He looked on and on, until at last he became fired with passion and the lust for blood. So enthralled was he that he came again; and afterwards with the full enthusiasm of a devotee. Is there amongst us today a man who could swear he would behave otherwise? The *state of mind* which approved of the public butchery of men existed; he who disapproved would himself have been thrown into the arena. The imagination of very many Christians was stirred by the amusements of the Roman holiday; and the process of weaning the Romans from the bloodshed of the arena was exceedingly slow. In the sixth century the animal fights still existed, though the human combats had come to an end perhaps over a hundred years earlier.

¶ *The lure of bodily risk*

Today we have our prize-fights, hunts, and races; in Spain there is the bull-fight, which with our prize-fight approaches nearest in spirit to the Roman games. Many may remember having read of the wonderful fight of the bull Señorito with a tiger, organized at Madrid in 1853^{*}; or of the school of bull-fighting founded by King Ferdinand VII at Seville only a century ago. All these are faint survivals of Roman civilization; but there are many people who strongly disapprove of them and who loudly voice their disapproval. Yet the difference between human nature today and the human nature of the first five centuries of the Christian era is not nearly so great as it appears at first sight. Men and women of today have a different set of standards and values for the ordinary course of life. But there are times when we are able to see beneath the surface, and then we realize that the mind of a ticket-holder for

^{*} The bull won. C. D.

a world's championship fight between Tunney and Dempsey in the boxing ring is precisely the same as that of the Pompeian gentleman who booked his seat to witness a tussle to the death between Gnæus Alleius and Nigidius Maius. They both glory in an exhibition of manly sport accompanied by bodily risk. The boys of Rome who played at gladiators showed the same type of mind as our boys who enjoy fisticuffs or playing at Red Indians; and Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, showed the identical mentality in preferring above all other men the gladiators of Caietæ for her indoor sports and pastimes, as the modern society lady does for the lifeguardsman, champion boxer, baseballer, footballer or bull-fighter. The difference is largely superficial and, indeed, a matter of degree.

§ 7. ALLAH VERSUS JEHOVAH

WE may now leave the vanishing Roman Empire, in which power had moved from the emperors to the church. At first there was a decline in the material power of the state and people and a corresponding growth of spiritual power. Then the spiritual power took on a material garment and, as regards political influence, it became far greater and more wide-spread than that of the emperors themselves. When the church at Rome was already well established, there was born in the year 570 A.D. in far-off Mecca a man who was to have a profound influence upon the destiny of the Roman church, and who was to become for the Arabs a Christ, a supreme spiritual leader. Mohammed, the founder of Islam, like Jesus of Nazareth, was born in extreme poverty and brought up uneducated. At the age of twenty-five he was quite unsuccessful in life, but

shrewdly retrieved his fortune by marrying the rich widow of a defunct merchant. He settled down for fifteen years to humdrum married life, and in the ordinary way of business he became father of several children.

Wells pictures him at the age of forty as something of a loafer: "A rather shy, good-looking individual, sitting about and listening to talk, a poor poet, and an altogether second-rate man."

¶ *Mohammed founds the prohibition movement*

He seems to have become obsessed by the sort of longings for spirituality which overwhelmed Gautama Buddha, Jesus, and the old Jewish prophets. Like them he appears to have skedaddled into the dry desert to avoid the insincerity and cynicism which surrounded him in Mecca. There he became a convinced prohibitionist. Wandering merchants and perhaps vagrant missionaries from Palestine may have dropped remarks which converted him to the idea of a single Deity. He began ecstatically to emit stanzas of imaginative religious poetry, in which the unity and supremacy of Allah were asserted, as well as a life after death. There would, of course, be a Hell for those who did not believe him and a Paradise for those who did. Nothing original about him so far appeared. But time was to work changes.

¶ *Ecstatic result of self-hypnosis*

In the manner of delivering his teaching, Mohammed differed greatly from Jesus. He would throw himself into a religious ecstasy and then his words flowed freely. It is not difficult for us to imagine the religious ecstasy of his highly sexed nature. Apparently without conscious effort he poured forth his sonorous verses; technique never caused him any worries or labors. His half-dreaming, other-worldly mind was in a turmoil; inside him there rumbled a religious volcano,

the inspiration of Allah, his God. He went through the common experience of the great mystics; like Joan of Arc later, he saw figures and heard voices and strange noises. Before delivering himself of a section of what was afterwards to be called the Koran, he passed through a period of mental and spiritual gestation. His intellect would be in a turmoil, his spirits would become depressed and his whole being would twitch and dither. He would shake like a man after a drunken debauch, shivering and perspiring by turns. At times he was a man in a trance, his extremities a cadaveric white and his face like a piece of carved marble. On recovering consciousness he would quiver all over, and the veins of his forehead stand out boldly; then he would begin to sway to and fro. As the paroxysm of ecstatic thought came to its climax he began, slowly at first, to let fall the mighty words of destiny. Steadily the current grew in volume until it poured forth with tremendous power and speed. At this stage he would perspire freely like a man who is engaged in heavy labor; and when the section was completed he would fall back exhausted but greatly relieved, like a small woman who is delivered of a big child. The words which he uttered (he said) were not his but God's.

His friends became alarmed. Some said that he was a poetic genius; others shook their heads, charitably declaring that he merely had a "slate off." Mohammed stood up against them and began to preach, after the manner of the prophets of Israel, like Confucius, Mo-ti, Lao-tsu, Gautama the Buddha, and Jesus, reviling the people for their evil ways, their local gods, their immorality. They must turn their faces toward Allah. In the course of this preaching he related the old, old stories of the Jewish prophets, solemnly declaring that they had been revealed to him by no less a person than the angel Djibril (Gabriel) him- (or per-

haps her-) self.* This evoked satirical jokes in the bosoms of his listeners, and the rumor went about that Mohammed was stealing the thunder of a certain Christian goldsmith of the market-place. Local wags and wits composed rhyming lampoons about him; the poor fellow became a target for all the ribald louts of his town. But Mohammed triumphed over them all with the aid of that same religious courage which we saw manifested in Jesus; and his words formed the basis of a new religion, its laws embodied in the Koran, which means *that which is to be read*. It is the next book in history after Plato's Republic and the New Testament to have an effect upon human nature. To it many tendencies and movements may be traced.

¶ *Celestial origin of the Koran*

Now Allah was the author of this work; Mohammed was merely the humble transmitting and publishing medium chosen by him. That is why every section of it is preceded by the explanatory words "In the Name of Allah the All-merciful and Omnipotent." Mohammed's own words or thoughts find no place in it. It was intended to be a faithful copy of God's own laws, of which the Arabic original is carved upon the olive-green tables of translucent magnesium silicate which forever stand before the sublime throne of the Creator in Heaven, where angels "incessantly modulate it by modulations in seven modulatory tones."† Those who had listened to the paroxysmic revelations of the prophet himself had put their heads together and learned his words by heart; the Calif Abu-Bekr acted as editor, having for assistant his good councilor Omar; and wrote everything down. The verses were slightly filed and polished by the scholarly Calif Otman, and

* The sex of angels has never been definitely settled to our satisfaction. C. D.

† *Le Koran*. Traduction littérale et complète des Sourates Essentielles, par J. C. Mardrus (Paris, 1928).

this copy was the *editio princeps* of the Koran as we know it. The book long remained in the keeping of the Omayyad Califs in their mosque at Damascus, until one fine day it mysteriously disappeared "carried off by a messenger from heaven." Mardrus says: "With regard to the style of this work, it is the personal style of God; and as a style is the essence of its creator, it can only be considered divine."

¶ *The practical miracles of Mohammedanism*

The religion of Allah was spread with an enthusiasm and rapidity which was a remarkable contrast to the slow growth of all other religions. Mohammedanism was final and complete in form, as one might reasonably expect in a religion intended to be a divine and explicit guide to salvation. It was never, like Christianity, stated in contradictory or obscure terms. Hence it had an immediate driving force which far surpassed that of the gospel preached by our Lord's apostles. It was, furthermore, greatly helped by a number of divine miracles, which seem to us particularly apposite and to the point, in that they placed Mohammed at the head of a considerable army. After that moment the prophet (who was by no means the fool his people formerly thought him) became a soldier of his creed. "Henceforth," says Reade, "we may admire the statesman or the general; the prophet is no more. It will hence be inferred that Mohammed was hypocritical, or at least inconstant. But he was constant throughout his life in the one object which he had in view; the spread of his religion. At Mecca it could best be spread by means of the gentle virtues; he therefore ordered his disciples to abstain from violence, which would only do them harm. At Medina he saw that the Kaaba idolatry could not be destroyed except by force. He obeyed his conscience both at Mecca and Medina; for *the conscience is merely an organ of the intellect, and is altered, improved or*

vitiated, according to the education which it receives and the incidents which act upon it." My italics.

Religion and sex are often so closely allied to one another that it is sometimes difficult to tell where one ends and the other begins. During religious revivals this is abundantly clear to the casual observer; and afterwards to registrars of births. The Christian religion frankly acknowledges the relationship between sexual and religious emotion, because of the grave danger which the former has for the latter; and decrees that sexual proclivities must be suppressed. But though the spirit may be willing, the flesh is sometimes weak as our eyes and history tell us. In many religions the priest not only is not permitted to marry, but may not indulge even in the most discreet promiscuity.

¶ *Sword and sex-appeal spread Allah's gospel*

Mohammed saw the whole problem very clearly and, as he had himself been a married man at one period of his life, he decided upon sexual license—reserving his prohibition entirely for matters of liquor that intoxicates. At the age of fifty he renewed his youth and began a career in which he quite distinguished himself as a voluptuary—after which his whole religion took on a more liberal hue; it became more broad-minded and more dynamic. The great achievement of Jesus was to abolish death by the creation of a Kingdom of Heaven in which souls could remain eternally clothed with a vague sort of bliss. Mohammed took this vague bliss and, having analyzed it, decided that it was largely sexual. Remember, he was fifty at the time; an age of experience in the lives of all strong men. The most remarkable feature of Mohammedanism is that which pertains to affairs of sex. We know from a perusal of the Arabian Nights that the Arabs were (for that matter they still are) a race in which libidinousness and salacity are more marked than in almost any other. Mo-

hammed himself became somewhat of a sensualist; he well knew the weakness of his fellow creatures, and did not fail to trade upon it. He preached polygamy and concubinage; and not the least intriguing part of his sublime doctrines is that which promises a paradise in which there shall be an unlimited number of female souls at the disposal of the male souls that are saved. He was a shrewd business man and judge of human nature; he taught that this gospel, which offers the bait of a sexual paradise, must be driven home with sword and battle-ax, by conquest, murder, arson, and rapine.

† *A brilliant addition to theology*

The Arabs had by this time outgrown their old religion, and it was not long before the word of Allah had spread its power over the whole of Arabia. A new ecclesiastical state was formed and ruled by the code of laws embodied in the Koran. By far the most momentous of these was to the effect that the gospel of the founder should be disseminated with the aid of the sword; a brilliant addition to theology. The difference between the expansion of Christianity and Mohammedanism was this: that whereas both were based upon rewards and punishment in the hereafter, it was as yet only the Mohammedans who could legitimately spread their light by means of battle: *We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve* was the text of the new preachers. The sword took the place of the Christian Hell; and was far more reasonable. Mohammedanism was on the whole a simple, practical, liberal, and easily understandable religion, with many highly attractive features. Allah was a generous God. The teachings of the founder were put into practice by his close friend the scribe Abu-Bekr. This good man had in his heart the complete fulness of the new faith, and so he set himself systematically to subjugate the world to Allah. Military campaigns were begun—among the

most instructive in the whole history of humanity. The inspiration of Allah's divine words produced generals who, for military acumen and general cruelty, are worthy to rank with Hannibal, Cæsar, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Foch, and other great men of similar genius. Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and part of Persia fell before the power of Allah in twenty-five years' time. During the next century the rest of Persia, Turkestan, the whole of the north of Africa, Portugal, and the greater part of Spain fell under the sway of the great successors of the prophet. The new faith satisfied and did good to the races in the area it covered, for the Arabs were then the most enlightened race in the world. Without some easy faith in that dark and unspiritual period the populations of the conquered territories might have degenerated or become devils.

The growth of the empire of Allah continued until the death of the great Harun-al-Raschid in 809 A.D. With his disappearance Islam began to fall into civil war and confusion. Two hundred years later Islamic vigor was renewed by the Turks under the leadership of the rude Seljuk family. It will be understood that the religion of Allah was a serious threat to the power of Jehovah reposing in His representatives at Rome and throughout Christendom. Bickerings and even wars on a small scale were not uncommon between the followers of Allah and Jehovah. When one power threatens to engulf another, humanity ripens for war. That is the law of the jungle; and of man.

Western Europe had by this time degenerated to a condition of rather vigorous barbarism. Feudal lords had established themselves everywhere. In the midst of this general disruption there arose in the north the Frankish chieftain Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, the first German historical personage of whom we have any clear knowledge. He was a remarkable man, re-

nowned for his physical endurance. He conceived the idea of a conquest, based upon the ideal of bringing the Germans together into one great Christian empire. His military feats were such that he has become a legend; even his intellectual achievements and piety marked him as an exemplary character. Although he could neither read nor write, we hear that he thoroughly enjoyed the works of great teachers—the fathers of the church, for example—which he had read to him, mostly at mealtimes. When he had gorged himself with roast pig, he would lean back and close his bright blue eyes. Still masticating he would sign to a monk to read to him a portion of what would then correspond to a popular modern thriller, called “The City of God”; it had been written by the good St. Augustine a few centuries earlier.

¶ *Revolutionary idea in education*

The century before that in which Charlemagne achieved power is acknowledged to be one of the blackest in history, as regards the general ignorance of the people; and chiefly because of the gross degeneration that had now caught the church at Rome. But to Charlemagne must be attributed the honor of having preached the necessity for elementary education among the *common people* at large; a revolutionary idea which never went further. He was successful in his conquests and founded a moderately strong empire in the West, an empire which resuscitated the declining strength of Rome. His empire became disrupted, but left behind it a germ of growth and renewed power for the papacy. It was this renewed growth which enabled the papacy to send forth three hundred years later its challenge to the power of Islam, causing that astounding series of “religious wars” which, first as the Crusades and later as the religious squabbles of Europe, will be remembered as one of the bitterest and most ruthless periods in

the history of humanity. It was responsible, with the Inquisition, for a religious revival of cruelty. It was a general setback to the spread of humanitarian ideals, preached by Buddha and Jesus and by the Greek teachers of antiquity. It almost put an end to Arabic science, which promised great things to an unscientific and utterly priest-ridden world.

§ 8. A RELIGIO-ECONOMIC WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

THE Crusades were not the first demonstration of the utter failure of Christianity to make itself a really effective influence for good, or an influence for permanently beneficial change in human nature. But they were the most striking demonstration of both facts. (Here I refer to human nature as a whole, for there is no doubt that the teachings of Christ had good effect upon individuals.) History has few more imposing spectacles to offer than the cutthroat struggle of the two great religions for military supremacy; their dispute for the economic control of the world; and the oceans of blood shed for Cross and Crescent by hosts of armed men. No two symbols ever stood for more. The wearied and corrupt West aroused itself and threw itself against the East.

¶ *The power of symbols*

For a time nationalism is abandoned and western hordes unite into a single allied community sworn to the destruction of a dangerous opponent. Now the sublimest virtues of men are mixed with degradation, the wildest savagery, passion, and lust. We see men fighting against famine, climate, and pestilence; we see great examples of bravery, perseverance, and resignation. All for symbols; the Cross and the Crescent. What

was the origin of the Crusades? Answer: a superabundance of dominant passions uniting on either side. Religious fervor and the sheer love of adventure and fighting gave birth to this holy economic war; and war is never so sublime, never so heroic, and never so brutal, as when it is inspired by religion. One result of the Crusades was to strike a bitter sorrow into the hearts of the generations which followed. But by giving men much military exercise they strengthened the West; and at the same time they caused the East to grow weary. They saved Europe from the Turk; and left us Europeans instead of Eurasians, which we would certainly otherwise have been—possibly to our advantage.

Wars nearly always spring from deeply hidden causes which may never show themselves on the surface. But there must always be given a superficial reason for organized slaughter, a spark to set a flame to smoldering fires: a slogan which appeals to the herd. In the case of the Crusades the superficial reason was the intolerance of the Seljuk Turks toward Christian pilgrims who visited the sepulcher of Christ and other holy places in Palestine. Large numbers of these pilgrims returned to Europe with lurid tales of cruelty and insult, not least of which was that one about the patriarch of Jerusalem who was “dragged through the streets by his hair” and thrown into prison to await a heavy ransom. One of these indigent pilgrims, the celebrated Peter the Hermit, a Frenchman born in Amiens, spread the tale with a rude, inflamed eloquence. In the words of Gibbon: “He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, the highways; the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and to arms. When he painted the suffering of the natives, and the pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with in-

dignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their savior."

† *A sermon starts a war*

After an appeal by the eastern emperor Alexius to Pope Urban II for help against the advances and cruelties of the Turks, there was called the Council of Clermont in France. Urban preached a magnificent fighting sermon to the delegates and others assembled, one of such mighty power that there and then thousands were pledged to take part in a holy war. "Christian warriors," he thundered, "you who seek without end for vain pretexts of war, rejoice, for you have today found true ones. You who have been so often the terror of your fellow citizens, go and fight against the barbarians, go and fight for the deliverance of the holy places; you who sell for vile pay the strength of your arms to the fury of others, armed with the sword of the Maccabees, go and merit an eternal reward. If you triumph over your enemies, the kingdoms of the East will be your heritage; if you are conquered, you will have the glory of dying in the very same place as Jesus Christ, and God will not forget that he shall have found you in his holy ranks. This is the moment to prove that you are animated by true courage; this is the moment in which you may expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace, so many victories purchased at the expense of justice and humanity. If you must have blood, bathe your hands in the blood of the infidels. I speak to you with harshness, because my ministry obliges me to do so: soldiers of Hell, become soldiers of the living God! When Jesus Christ summons you to his defense, let no base affections detain you in your homes; see nothing but the shame and the evils of the Christians; listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember well what the Lord has said to you, 'He who loves his father and his mother more than me, is not

worthy of me; whoever shall abandon his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his inheritance, for the sake of my name, shall be recompensed a hundredfold, and possess life eternal.' "

This was surely divine inspiration—"If you triumph the East is yours; if you fail—the Kingdom of Heaven"—"the East" being then the synonym for wealth, luxury, and endless sexual raptures. What prospects could be more pleasant and attractive to single adventurers, or to healthy married men who were tired of their wives? Both in physical and mental condition the people of Christendom were ripe for war; only the right symbols and the voice of authority were required to galvanize the crowds into action.

¶ *Influence of Christ in 1099*

Two mobs of undisciplined rascals swept down the valley of the Danube toward Constantinople. On the way they thoroughly pillaged Hungary and efficiently massacred the Hungarians. Meanwhile, pogroms were initiated against the Jews of the Rhineland and other places, for no apparent reason except that they were Jews and not Christians. A little later—in 1097—a more ordered body of soldiers moved into the Holy Land to besiege Antioch and Jerusalem. The blood of the conquered followers of Allah the All-powerful ran in the streets, until the horses wallowed in it. Toward evening on the fifteenth of July in the year 1099 the crowd of fanatical Christian butchers reached the holy sepulcher, sobbing for excess of pious joy, and knelt offering thanksgiving to the Lord of Hosts for their memorable victory. The Arab account states that one hundred thousand persons were killed on their side, including the aged of both sexes; and that the Jews were locked in their synagogue and burned to death. Such was the fervor of Christianity in the eleventh century of Our Lord. There is, however, this to be said for

the First Crusade: it profoundly stirred the masses and every grade of society; it was the symptom of a great upheaval of sentiments and ideals amongst all classes. This effect was due, some historians say, to the frenzied and perfervid oratory of Peter the Hermit, working upon the passions and instincts of the crowds. Others say that Urban's great sermon set things going. There is still doubt. But after the satisfactory slaughters in Asia Minor and Palestine, Peter of Amiens was able to retire to build a monastery in his beloved France, where he died quietly in his bed, blessing himself for a well-earned rest.

The news of a grave loss on the eastern frontier of the Latin kingdom stirred Europe to a Second Crusade. St. Bernard was ordered by Pope Eugenius to preach a plenary indulgence to all who would join in it. The eloquent Bernard roared from the pulpits of Christendom his sermons teaching the moral disgrace of allowing a land which had once been recovered from pollution to sink into it again. Very soon the cities of Europe once more echoed to the sweet call of war. The Second Crusade was unsuccessful. It weakened the position of the Christians in Palestine, for in 1187 Jerusalem was retaken by the Saracen leader Saladin after a battle at Tiberias.

¶ *Quotation from an old Arab war book*

"That battle," writes Imad-ad-Din, the Moslem historian who was present, "took place on a Saturday. The Christians, like lions at the beginning of the fray, were as scattered lambs at the end. . . . The battle-field was covered with the dead and dying. . . . It was a horrible spectacle. . . . I saw severed heads; dull dead eyes; dust-covered bodies, twisted limbs; severed arms; crushed bones; gashed and bloody necks; broken thighs; feet no longer joined to the leg; bodies in two pieces; torn lips, and split foreheads. On seeing their

faces strewn over the ground, and covered with blood and wounds, I recall the holy words of the Koran: 'And the infidel shall say, what am I but dust!' Ah! what sweet odor is exhaled from this victory." For a moment the God of Islam had triumphed over the God of Christianity, in scenes of carnage not unworthy of our own age, which is generally more thoroughgoing in the organized slaughter of human beings: as you will realize by comparing the words of Imad-ad-Din with those of Erich Maria Remarque or Henri Barbusse or Brigadier-General Crozier or a host of other writers who have dealt with our own pet war.

§ 9. THE LAST PHASE OF SIMPLE STRAIGHTFORWARD WARFARE

NOTHING succeeds like success and nothing brings execration upon a leader—spiritual or lay—so much as failure. Christian Europe cursed and damned the holy Bernard for having been the moving spirit in the wretched debacle. To all of which St. Bernard replied—quite rightly—that the sins of the people had merited divine punishment and that the men of his day were suffering as did the Hebrews of old for their bad morals, when they perished in the journey from Egypt to the Promised Land. It is a remarkable fact in considering these two Crusades, that of the two it was the First which was the most dastardly. In it are to be seen examples of mob-frenzy at its worst. In the Second Crusade everything was comparatively well-ordered, and the warriors behaved themselves in a way which must be considered for that age to have been exemplary; perhaps they were too gentlemanly, for the Turk did not respond to the mild approach.

A Third Crusade, one of revenge—a sort of “return match”—was organized. In this the German emperor, the king of France and the king of England all took part. They met in Normandy in February 1188 A.D. to consider the position. A priest of the Latin church appeared and gave an accurate description of the sufferings of the Latins in Syria. So touching were his reflections that the king of France and the emperor of Germany stood before him with bowed heads, the tears welling from their kindly eyes. When the good prelate had finished, they turned toward one another and embraced, vowing that there was no alternative but for them both to go together to the Holy Land. An archbishop forthwith handed to each one of them a little cross.

¶ *English respect for morality*

Money was required. It was quickly collected by a universal tax extending to personal and real estate. Men who were willing to fight were not only exempted from this tax, but were permitted to take the property of tenants who were conscientious objectors—for there were even then people who disliked war. Crusaders were allowed to raise money on mortgages of their lands, and mortgagees were to receive rents, to the prejudice of former creditors. Even at that date the English showed their respect for sexual morality by forbidding their warriors any indulgence in the lusts of the flesh; and also from gambling at cards or such evil games as crown and anchor, just as today. An English Crusader was not permitted to be accompanied by any female, “except one washerwoman whose character was beyond reproach.” *She* would have to walk all the way on foot, while her master gallantly rode on horseback. O hardbitten and chaste washerwoman of the soldiers of the Cross, footslogging in the wake of your chivalrous masters, what great faith was yours!

The conduct of English pilgrims was regulated by a few simple laws springing from the Christian spirit of the English prince. Murder was to be punished by casting into the water the deceased person, with the murderer bound fast to him. The penalty for bad language and swearing or smut was a fine of one ounce of silver. A thief was tarred and feathered and sent home to his wife. As so often happens among military allies, a squabble between the English and the French caused the religious objects of the war to be forgotten. There was an exchange of impolite epithets between the "Frogs" and the "Tommies" which were just as bad as those I have heard used on the western front during the World War of 1914-1918 A.D. But the quarrel was duly patched up and the forces of the Crusaders laid siege to the city of Acre.

¶ *Diversion for Crusaders*

The famous siege lasted for three long years, and severely tried the patience of the besieging Crusaders. There were, however, diversions. An Arabian author informs us of the happy arrival in the camp of the Christians of three hundred free and easy ladies from Cyprus. In the shadow of the camp churches with their pretty wooden steeples (where the mass was being celebrated from early morning till night) the women found much favor in the eyes of the bored Crusaders. Scandal spread about the camp regarding what took place under canvas. Probably it was no more and no less than what took place "behind the line" when all was quiet on our western front. There has been no change whatever in the fundamentals of human nature in such matters as this. Few wars last long if there are no women at hand during those difficult periods between battles.

¶ *How allies in war hate one another*

Acre capitulated. On the same day dear, hot-headed Richard of England in a fit of pique ordered the stand-

ard of Leopold duke of Austria to be thrown into a ditch—an incident which all but ended the war. After this the forces moved forward to attack Jerusalem, but the project was abandoned owing to increasing rancor and dissensions among the crusading forces. How those allied Christians grew to hate one another! Almost as badly as the English hated the French at a later date and as much as the English and the French hated the Belgians; or as greatly as they both loathed the Americans; or as soundly as they all abominated the Portuguese. It is a curious thing that many wars generate among allies such a detestation of one another that an expressed vow goes up to the effect that next time the allies are to take the place of the enemy, who is not such a bad fellow after all. The hatred of allies for one another is a common phenomenon of all wars; and quite rightly so.

¶ *A gust of wind and men's destiny*

To return—Saladin was at that moment engaged in an onslaught on Joppa, and Richard had decided to come to the rescue. Part of his troops went by land and the remainder went by sea. A contrary wind arose detaining his Majesty's boats for three whole days at Caiphaz, where they had put in. Angry at this delay the king cried aloud: "O Lord God, why dost thou detain us here? *Have sense*, I pray thee; and consider the urgency of the case and the devoutness of our wishes!" The old chronicler Geoffrey de Vinsauf (in English "Safewine") continues: "No sooner had he prayed thus than God caused a favorable wind to spring up, which wafted his fleet before it into the harbor of Joppa, in the midst of the night of Friday immediately preceding the Saturday on which the besieged forces had agreed to surrender, and when all of them would have been given over to destruction. They fled up the fortress as far as they were able, and there they awaited the

stroke of martyrdom, shedding tears, and supplicating the mercy of the Almighty, who at length was appeased, and deigned to listen to their petition. But their deliverer was already come, his fleet was riding in the harbor, and his soldiers were eager to land for their rescue."

In the year 1198 Pope Innocent III thought it was time that yet another Crusade should be fought. It was frankly an attack on the Byzantine Empire. Crusaders stormed the city of Constantinople in 1204, and the Latin and Greek churches became united by virtue of the shedding of much blood, and remained so until the year 1261.

† *Children in arms*

By this time the world was becoming rather tired of Crusades, and some novelty had to be invented if men's imaginations were to be stirred. In 1212 a strange excitement was spread amongst the children in the south of France, and thousands of French boys and Rhineland children awoke to enthusiasm. They formed a sort of Children's Crusade, organized by religious fanatics and other irresponsible persons. There were children of all ages and conditions and of both sexes; some of them were not more than twelve years of age. They set out from villages and towns, without leaders, without guides, or provisions, or money in their purses. It was in vain their parents or friends tried to dissuade them. When questioned they said they were going to visit the holy places. Informed of their proceedings his Holiness the Pope uttered a deep groan and exclaimed: "These children put us to shame! They reproach us for being buried in sleep whilst they are flying to the defense of the Holy Land!"

It was not long before this fantastic adventure of children and its inevitable end in debacle formed the basis of reason for another adult crusade; and hence the

Sixth Crusade of 1228-9. Palestine soon became again the theater of ambition and glory. As the result of a squabble the pope excommunicated the German emperor, Frederick II, whereupon this emperor set out on a little crusade of his own. Frederick met the sultan of Egypt and, after a conversation with him, decided that it was all rather a farce; he thought he would return to put his own affairs in order in the West. The Christians lost Jerusalem in 1244, and this provoked the Seventh Crusade. Henceforward, in spite of all efforts of the West, Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Turks until, after a Crusade in the twentieth century it was captured by French and British forces in 1918.

¶ *The end of crusading fanaticism*

Not long after the fall of Jerusalem the whole of the Holy Land was lost, and the flame of fanaticism slowly burned itself out. Several of the popes endeavored to revive these holy undertakings; but Europe had had enough. From the commencement of the thirteenth to past the middle of the fourteenth century the popes repeatedly sounded the trumpet of war. The states of Europe pooh-poohed the summons. Even sermons and prayers on their behalf failed to move them, for just at that time the victories of the Mongols were occupying the attention of the West. Part of Russia, the whole of Poland, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, and all the countries to the east of the Adriatic fell a prey to barbaric desolation under the hand of the Tatar conquerors. Fear was greater than greed.

The consequences of the Crusades and their effect upon human nature are so many and so complex that they can only be briefly mentioned here. No wars ever lasted so long, and few wars were more destructive. The most horrible violences of fanaticism were encouraged during that fateful period from 1096 to 1291.

For one thing, their failure was the beginning of that unpleasant phase in human history known as the Inquisition during which the papal power, having failed to extend its territory and to bring under its sway the Moslems, turned upon restive Christendom to subdue it more thoroughly. The pastors of the church were driven, after the use of anathemata, excommunications, interdicts, and other weapons in the storehouse of spiritual artillery, to fall back upon the rack, the thumb-screw, and the heap of burning heretics as an example of its power. The Crusades were the beginnings of modern pogroms against the Jews. It is all very well to speak of the practice of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving as institutions salubrious to the individual and beneficial to society, capable of softening pride and subduing the passions. Against that we must balance the bitterness engendered in the human heart during this series of sanguinary wars which ended in failure; and from which sprang the vilest system of torture, mental and physical, of which there is account in the most somber pages of human history. Furthermore, whatever may be the virtues of soldiers, and they have many, there are a number of evils which spring from their utter freedom from domestic restraints. During two hundred years Latin Christianity lived through a career of murder and plunder of Moslems. The nations of Europe became accustomed and inured to bloodshed on a grand scale. We suffer from this damnable heritage. It is part of our make-up.

¶ *Influence of the Crusades*

Possibly the greatest influence of the Crusades was upon international commerce and the exchange of ideas. Europeans had learned what the East could give in the way of riches; Venice and other cities prospered greatly by the immense trade which followed, and the leisure resulting from this wealth contributed to the

Renaissance of Europe. The art of navigation was improved and, in a subsequent age, was to confer immense material benefits upon the world. It would appear that the mariner's compass was invented about the period of the First Crusade, possibly in order that the fleets of the world might more rapidly find their way to the Holy Land. The French navy came into existence about this period. The necessity for transporting large numbers of men brought with it bigger ships, and with them came more masts and the invention of the jib, by which tacking could be done, thereby enabling the mariner to beat against a wind nearly dead ahead: the way for the discovery of America was already being prepared. Gothic architecture, copied from Byzantine and Arab monuments, sprang up on all sides. Sculpture and painting were cultivated with greater zeal. Men became acquainted with customs and phases of art hitherto unknown in Europe. Finally, those great religious wars were responsible for perfecting primitive weapons and primitive warfare, of which this was the last phase. After that both weapons and war take on what may reasonably be called a new orientation; that is, they become more ingenious, more brutal, and more horrible than ever before. The inward spiritual force of man is threatened by the power of externals, but as yet he has the latter well in hand.

BOOK IV

THE WAYWARD PROGRES-
SION OF HUMAN NATURE

§ 1. RECIPE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF MORALS

WE have seen how the power of a symbol moved the whole of Europe to take part in a series of wars which in two centuries left the East and the West almost desolate. Foreign adventures having proved futile, the church now turns upon its adherents at home and concentrates upon them. The thirteenth century marked the zenith of church power in the world. By this time the pope had become "the Vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, of Christ the Lord, God of the Pharaoh, beneath God, above man, less than God, more than man." Catholic Rome was now ruling emperors and kings. Not only was the head of the church the final court in matters of faith and morals; but he also controlled the material resources of nations and peoples.

¶ *The two swords*

The papal bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*—"One Holy Church"—affirms that: *To be submissive to the Roman Pontiff is a condition of salvation for any human creature* and also that there are, governing this world, two *swords*: the spiritual one in the hands of the pope, the temporal in the hands of kings. But kings may wield their swords *only* to serve the church by permission of the pope. Possibly it may seem to the reader that I am dwelling rather too much upon the influence of the priest upon human destiny and human nature. My reply is that there is no influence equal to it in importance before the fifteenth century. I would emphasize here the opinion expressed by James Harvey

Robinson, the distinguished historian: without priests and church, medieval history would be almost a blank.

At this period there began an extremely important social movement based chiefly upon the developments of trade and the growth of business. A middle class of people arose, a class half-way between aristocrats and feudal lords, between the authorities of the church and the lower, or inferior and ignorant, masses of people. There was a great increase in the prosperity of the towns. A communal movement began.

The appearance of this movement is mentioned because from its very beginning, which involved the now powerful religious and moral order, there sprang vehement outbursts of indignation against clerical abuses, and this indignation amounted to a revolt of thinkers. Many of them began to jeer and many began to doubt. The thirteenth century is notable for what we may reasonably call a reawakening of the human mind, a revival in the spirit of man: the first for a period of over a thousand years.

Heresy spread in all directions. There began to be a conscious challenge to the power of the church, and for this the church had to find a desperate remedy or perish. The church had always opposed movements which were beneficial to the people. It was (and is) antagonistic to any innovation threatening to its own well-being. Innocent III condemned Magna Carta, which has (perhaps incorrectly) been called the "Keystone of English Liberty"; and he soundly upbraided the English barons for their challenge to kindly authority. They paid no attention and he therefore excommunicated them. So far as I can gather they cared little about the excommunication; this in itself would indicate the new spirit of the age. A number of more serious heresies, that is to say organized heresies, were viciously stamped out, but dangerous individual heretics often

escaped. A heretic in those days was very often a person who simply voiced derogatory opinions about the church and his spiritual pastors and masters.

† *Chief task of bishops*

The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 made it the chief business of bishops to search out heretics and, having judicially found them guilty of heresy, to hand them over to lay authorities for punishment. Before proceeding further it is necessary to emphasize a fact which ought already to be clear enough: namely, that all lay authorities including even emperors and kings were under the heel of the church. It has been a favorite excuse of Catholic apologists to say that the iniquities of the Holy Inquisition were perpetrated by secular authorities and that the priesthood concerned itself only with trial in regard to spiritual matters. Such an interpretation of the facts is what is vulgarly called "passing the buck."

Before the moral sentiment of men had reached its present high state of development there was a stage of growing pains to be passed. Punishment has always been a recognized cure for bad behavior, because many people think it works better than all other cures. Besides, punishment invariably comes from above, from a superior to an inferior being. As men and women are born in sin—that is, without morals—it has been necessary at all periods of history to inflict severe pains and penalties in order to impress upon feeble minds and slow wits the difference between right and wrong. The Roman Catholic Church was highly successful during the latter part of the Middle Ages in instilling the principles of morality into the thick skulls of certain European and other races. The history of the Holy Inquisition provides a salutary lesson for those who imagine that a moral ideal can be achieved or even preserved without physical suffering.

¶ *Heavenly origin of the Inquisition*

As regards the origin of the Inquisition, the good Jesuit historian Francisco de Macedo * informs us as follows: "The Inquisition originated in Heaven. God fulfilled the functions of First Inquisitor when He blasted the rebellious angels; He exercised those functions when He punished Adam and Cain; and when He obliterated mankind by the flood. He exhorted Moses to act as Inquisitor on His behalf when He punished the Hebrews in the desert by violent deaths, by fire from above, and by engulfing them in the cracks in the earth. God transferred His functions as Inquisitor to St. Peter, who exercised them in striking dead Ananias and Sapphira. Finally the Popes, inheritors and successors after St. Peter, delegated the functions to St. Dominic and members of his order." What greater authority was necessary?

Now a dozen monks of the Dominican order were chosen for the great work because of their sense of justice and because they were men whose consciences reacted rapidly to the faintest whiff of evil amongst the erring laity. Their task was to investigate the state of mind of all men and women who were suspected of slackness in attending to the calls of the church, spiritual or material; and they were to arrange for the punishment of such as might not show an inclination to reform and behave in an upright manner. They began this admirable work by roasting alive several thousands of suspects. Twenty-five years later the zeal of these good Christians brought their activities to Spain, where they were to discover much frailty amongst men. The first *auto-da-fé* was celebrated with pomp at Aragon on May 12, 1314: then and there the corpses of half a dozen suspected sinners were publicly incinerated by

* *Schema congregationis sancti officii Romani*, by F. de Macedo. Quoted by Edmond Cazal.

way of example to the Aragonese; and to make the affair more impressive six living citizens were set on fire at the same time.

¶ *Moral education of the Spaniards*

Soon afterwards the spiritual education of the Spaniards began in earnest, but it was not until that exceptionally holy man Tomas de Torquemada was sent by a merciful Providence that the Inquisition got into its full stride. During the twenty-seven memorable months when his zeal and devotion reached their highest point—from February of the Year of Grace 1482 to May in the Year of Grace 1484—two thousand males and females of the human species were burned alive in the public fires of Seville, to the harmony of grunts and groans emitted by a populace that was deserving of enlightenment. In the same historic city seventeen thousand persons were taught the elements of Christianity, by suffering punishments which ranged from torture to fines, confiscations, imprisonments, deportations, dismissals from employment, and that benevolent penalty called civil death. To hasten the work of the tribunals the crude and rigid rules of evidence used in secular and profane courts were relaxed; more flexible and more spiritual rules were applied, which permitted fourth-hand hearsay to be heard by the patient, learned, and devout judges. To be suspect was to suffer punishment.

The Inquisition taught the ignorant multitude that the physical discomforts which would follow in the train of sin were so great that morality paid. The results are before us today. The standard of morality amongst Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, and those other fortunate peoples who experienced the cleansing and purifying process of the Holy Inquisition is as high as any which exists elsewhere. Therefore, man *can* be improved morally by discomfort, torture, or death.

What we are not certain of is how long the improvement or its after-effects will endure.

It may be of interest to sketch briefly the details of procedure and punishment used by the Inquisition, since they show exactly what is meant by the word suasion in regard to morality. When a transgressor was discovered, or an information about him laid before a local bureau of the Holy Office, he was cited three times to appear before a court of Dominicans, or whatever religious order functioned in the neighborhood. If he did not appear he was condemned; the longer he delayed the more weighty was his guilt. When an alleged heretic fell into the hands of the inquisitors, he was an isolated being. No friend dare even inquire after him, much less write to him, intercede for him, or act as a lawyer in his defense. As soon as all the property belonging to the suspect had been seized—a very practical precaution—the trial began. In the meantime days, months, or even years might pass, the accused dragging out a wretched existence and often dying from sheer privation in loathsome dungeons. When brought to trial the judges inquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted. Had the suspect the supreme impertinence to ask what charge there was against him, he was indignantly admonished to confess his faults himself. If he failed to confess, time was given for reflection; back he went to the dungeon, short rations, filth, lice, rats, and stench.

After a period of philosophic meditation in these moving circumstances, he was again haled before the committee; and if he still confessed nothing, he had to swear to answer all questions that would be put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further ado. If he swore to give answer, he was questioned in regard to his whole life; no inkling was ever given of what his offense was—that would give him a chance

to prepare a defense. He was, however, definitely promised a pardon if he would but confess this offense. Finally an indictment in writing was framed and handed to him, and counsel was assigned. He was allowed time to prepare a defense, but meanwhile he returned to the dungeon with its unpleasant etceteras. His accuser and the witnesses against him were not made known. If at any moment during the trial the answers did not satisfy the intelligence and godly nature of the pious judges, the wink was given to skilled professional torturers who were engaged by the court. A physician was appointed to stand by to estimate how much the man could endure; in effect, to test the supreme limit of his endurance.

If when tortured he confessed nothing, snares were set to trap the prisoner. When a person was found guilty, that is, when he did not confess, he was condemned according to the measure of his offense: to death or perpetual imprisonment or the galleys or flogging or loss of property or banishment. And so forth. He was delivered to the civil authorities, who were *entreated* to spare his life. They well knew how they would be punished if they did not put the decision of the court into execution. "Better," said the judges, "that a hundred innocent persons should be cut off and go to Paradise, than that one heretic should escape, who might poison many souls and plunge them into endless perdition." One must not forget that heretics went straight to Hell the moment they died; and everything had to be done to save them from such a fate. See the earlier section on Hell.

† *A note on torture*

Torture is a venerable institution in human affairs. It has existed in China from time immemorial; it was used by the Greeks and Romans to assist in the cross-examination of slaves, chiefly in order to elicit informa-

tion after capture concerning military matters. In Cicero's time there existed a grim and efficient machinery which was used mostly on persons accused of treason. It was also used without legal sanction in England. There is torture today in every police station in the world, but it is now more often mental torture than physical. The third degree is not an American monopoly; it is a universal practice of police, varying in intensity and method. During the World War a cunning form of mental torture was used to gain information from prisoners, as everyone knows. At the time of which I write, torture was everywhere used in cases of treason, and as heresy was "treason to the church" secular authorities were instructed to treat it in precisely the same manner as secular heresy. "Know ye therefore," says Julius Clarius, a member of the council to Philip II of Spain—"Know ye therefore," says he, "that there are five degrees of torture: first the threat, secondly the transportation to the place of torture, thirdly the stripping and binding, fourthly the hoisting upon the rack, and fifthly squassation. As to squassation it is thus performed: the prisoner hath his arms bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on high till his head reaches the very pulley. He is kept hanging in this manner for some time, that by the greatness of the weight hanging at his feet all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a jerk by the slackening of the rope, but kept from coming quite to the ground, by which terrible shake his arms and legs are all disjoined, whereby he is put to the most exquisite pain; the shock which he receives by the sudden stop of the fall, and the weight at his feet stretching his whole body more intensely and cruelly." *

* See Phillipus van Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*. Authorities for the facts quoted regarding the Inquisition will be found in *The Historians' History*, Vol. X.

¶ *Abominable obstinacy of a Jew*

Isaac Orobio, a Jewish doctor of medicine, was accused by his servant of being a Jew, which he strongly denied. He was brought before the Inquisition and accused. He persisted in his denial and was duly tortured, but unhappily survived to give us a record of his treatment. It is an instructive document in the modern history of human nature. The religious ceremony took place in a large underground room, lighted by candles. At a table sat the inquisitor in the shadow of a cross, an essential symbol for the whole business. The inquisitor admonished him to confess the truth of the foul crime he had committed by being born a Jew. Orobio denied the crime, whereupon the committee declared they would not be responsible for what might happen in the face of such abominable obstinacy. With this he was put in a strait-jacket, which was drawn so tight that the stupid man was almost squeezed to death. When he was about to die the garment was relaxed, and he was allowed to come round. Again persisting in his denial, Orobio's thumbs were tied tightly with small cords, so that the extremities swelled, causing the blood to spurt from beneath the nails. After this he was placed with his back against a wall (not far from the cross) and fixed upon a bench. At this stage the still young science of dynamics was invoked. Iron pulleys were fastened to the wall and through them ropes were drawn and tied to the prisoner's body, arms, and legs. The executioner in attendance drew these ropes with great strength, fastening the body with them to the wall so effectively that the fingers and toes, "being bound so straitly with them," put the man to what is eloquently described as "most exquisite pain." In the midst of these torments the torturer suddenly, with a gust of heaven-sent inspiration, drew the bench from beneath so that the accused was left hanging by fingers and toes.

The imagination of the committee was not to be baffled by the supreme obstinacy of this wretch. Hard by, there was a device resembling a small ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood and five other sharpened pieces. "This the torturer placed over against him and, by a certain proper motion, struck it with great violence against both his [the Jew's] shins, so that he [the Jew] received upon each of them all at once five violent strokes." This, it seems, overstepped the bounds of science, for the ungracious wretch simply fainted. The science of physic now came to the rescue; the official healer in attendance was sharply commanded to bring the prisoner round. Other tactics were then tried. The torturer tied ropes about Orobio's wrists and put the ropes about his own back, which he had, of course, taken the precaution to cover with stout leather lest he himself suffer some slight hurt. Then, falling backward and putting his feet firmly against the wall, he drew the ropes with all his might till they cut through the flesh of that obstinate Jew "even to the very bones," we are informed. This procedure was repeated thrice, but even now the Jew continued to deny his Jewishness.

¶ *Punctilious humanitarianism of ecclesiastics*

The story continues: "It so happened that as the ropes were drawing the second time they slid into the first wound, which caused so great an effusion of blood that the man seemed to be dying." The attendant doctor was again called and asked for medical advice. Could the torture be safely continued without immediate danger of death? The ecclesiastical judges were extremely punctilious in an observance of their duty; and they were anxious not to be guilty of even a slight irregularity—which there would certainly be should the vicious criminal die during this regrettable but very necessary business. "If at any time they are forced to leave off through fear of death," the regulation

reads, "all tortures, even those already suffered, must be successively reinflicted to satisfy the sentence. Upon this the torture was repeated a third time and then it ended." Orobio was bound up in his own clothes and carried back to his prison. Seventy days later he was scarcely healed of his wounds. As he had made no confession he was condemned, not as one convicted but *suspected of Judaism*, to wear for two years the infamous garments of the "suspect Jew," after which term he would be banished perpetually from the holy kingdom of Seville.*

It is painful to look upon these scenes. Remember, it is only a few hundred years ago that they happened, and then ask yourself the question: How far has man progressed, in a humanitarian sense, during ten thousand years of recorded history?

The strange feature of it all is that the Inquisition was *popular*. It was long popular, at all events among the masses of the people, although it was mildly opposed by the more sentimental of the nobility and by many of the higher clergy who still believed in God or mercy. There is much ado by many historians about the sufferings of the masses, but here is an example—one of the most striking in history—of suffering actually approved by the masses. The reason for this is because they firmly believed it was inflicted for their ultimate good. It is an example of how large numbers of people will support a monstrous injustice so long as it is done in the name of what is supposed to be their interests.

¶ *Culture contemporaneous with cruelty*

It is also surprising to find there was much enlightenment in many of the worst territories of the Inquisition. Is it not remarkable that the "Golden Age of Spanish Literature" and the great age of conquest and discovery coincided with the time when the Inquisi-

* *Op. cit.*

tion was in full sway? Almost the whole of Europe was affected by it, with the exception of England, Scandinavia, and parts of northern Germany. Is it likely that the Nordic races would have submitted to this power in the same way that the Latins did? Yes, if they had been persuaded that it was for their good, and that they would benefit by it. For the Nordics are equally as selfish as the Mediterranean races. Everybody in Southern Europe believed, and many good people elsewhere still believe, that the procedure was just, and we must judge it by the circumstances which prevailed. Indeed we must judge all human behavior by circumstances which are created by beliefs, symbols, and institutions; and they themselves are the result of circumstances reflecting the mentality of a mass or a group, or sometimes even of one man.

¶ *Modern man as cruel as the primitive*

When we come to consider the most recent state of human nature, it may be possible to estimate the effects of the Inquisition, which was intended to be a recipe for improving human morals. But we may observe in passing that it hardened western humanity to cruelty and crushed many tender shoots of humanitarianism that were appearing and showing more prospect of life than at any period since the disappearance of Greek civilization. The Inquisition proved that men still cling hard to their old superstitions and their old cruelties; moreover there is every reason to believe that the cruelties of the Inquisition were far worse than any of which we have knowledge among primitive men, who are, as many modern anthropologists have shown, moderate in their hates and less cruel than most of us who are civilized.

The psychology of the Inquisition is not difficult to understand. It is based upon that often unconscious experience of inferior mind which takes pleasure in the

mishaps of others. The Roman Church could not tolerate the criticism and derogatory statements attributable to heretics. It suffered from an "inferiority complex," if I may be permitted to use this piece of psychological jargon. Having power of governments and armies and catchpolls behind it, it took every imaginable step to crush its critics. These were subjected to the direst pains and penalties; and ignorant fanatics found themselves suddenly raised to a plane of importance while they contemplated the burning of the heretics. They received the same kind of delightful thrill as those do who now take part in a lynching; or one similar to that expected by the crowd of Londoners a year or two ago, when numbers of perfectly good citizens held their ears to a prison wall during a hanging, in the hope of hearing the dull thud of the body falling or the official crack of the neck-breaking which is now used to frighten English men and women into virtue. "Ha!—See how superior I am to that wretch," is the thought behind it all. In this respect there is little change in the nature of man since the dawn of history; and what change there exists, is not always for the better.

§ 2. THE INFLUENCE OF MERE ACCIDENTS

IN the first part of the thirteenth century there lived an English Franciscan monk whose influence was to have an important effect upon our present natures. Roger Bacon was that man. He said that the time had come to test and map out knowledge *by experiment with real things rather than by abstract study*. He foresaw modern science; and prophesied the coming of airplanes, motorcars, and ships that would move without oars or sails. It is also known that Columbus (over

two hundred years later) read the works of Friar Bacon, and found in them the idea of a "round" world, which idea, it is said, inspired him to sail westwards in search of India. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks on May 9, 1453, had driven away Venetian trade, compelling the merchant kings of Venice to look elsewhere for markets. These two events led to the discovery of America in 1492, another landmark in history. So it is that one accidental event leads to another, making the gorgeous pattern of history.

¶ *Two discoveries change the trend of history*

About the time of Roger Bacon, or a little later, the properties of the lens were discovered; from that we get the telescope, the spectroscope, the camera, the cinematograph, and the diffusion of Hollywood culture in the twentieth century. Calculation was speeded up by the use of Arabic instead of Roman numerals. Gunpowder was discovered, and the mariner's compass, which had been little used before, began to be a common instrument of navigators. The whole course of history was altered by those two discoveries. The printing press was invented, thereby providing means of spreading knowledge rapidly. At this period we find a renaissance of learning, the birth of modern invention, the age of discovery, and the beginning of the westernization of the world—the phase preceding Americanization. Immense progress was made in art and even in letters. It was the age of Leonardo da Vinci: a great artist, engineer, and scientist, one of the few men in whom the greatest qualities of the mind appear in combination. It was the age of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler: the first two being the founders of the science of modern astronomy. Then follows Galileo, the founder of the science of dynamics. To the disgust and dismay of the church at Rome, Galileo expanded the views of Copernicus to the effect that the earth

moves round the sun, and is by no means the center of the universe, as everyone had fondly and conceitedly supposed hitherto. The church made him kneel before an assembly of cardinals and deny the truth of his discoveries. He did so, an old bowed man, but as he rose to his feet he is reported to have muttered to himself the words, "It moves all the same." It was the Golden Age of curiosity.

Less than four hundred years ago there was no British Empire and no United States of America. The face of the world was changed, so to speak, by that wonderful invention the mariner's compass. It is one of the great examples of how a mere scientific device may affect the destiny of untold millions. This little instrument became the center of attraction to merchants, kings, princes, and all others who wished to add to their worldly wealth. Behind it were the human factors of greed and selfishness, and the combination of the two brought about the exploration and exploitation of the globe by Europeans. Venice, Genoa, Spain, and Portugal were the countries which first showed most interest in the new instrument. The voyages of the navigators of that period make one of the most thrilling stories ever written.

Various claims have been advanced for the discovery of America; eighteen different nations compete for the great honor, but the probabilities are in favor of the Genoese sailor-adventurer and shrewd business man Cristoforo Colombo. He was a working seaman, who was prepared to hire himself out for cash to whoever would pay the biggest price, provided a share of the resulting booty and glory also came his way. He held himself ready for expeditions to go anywhere. On April 17 he signed a contract with the Spaniards, by which he was to receive from far-seeing King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella the hereditary titles of ad-

miral and viceroy of all the seas, lands, and islands which he might discover. On the material side he was to be entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other articles of merchandise, in whatever manner found, bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs of his expedition being first deducted; and he was permitted to contribute an eighth part of the expenses and to receive an eighth part of the profits.

It was purely a business arrangement, by a business man with a king and queen who had also an eye to business. An unnecessary glamor has been thrown round the whole affair. Americans should remember that, just as they have become the great trading and business nation of the world, so the very idea of their country germinated in a business contract. On August 3, 1492, Columbus—as we call him—set sail in three tiny vessels: the *Santa Maria* commanded by himself, the *Pinta* commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzón, and the *Niña*. The expedition was accompanied by a few private adventurers, including a priest and physician. There were in all one hundred and twenty persons. The story of that voyage is an epic in itself. Columbus turned his prows toward the west and kept them pointing in that direction. Day after day and week after week he sailed the uncharted ocean. The crew at last became incensed against his obstinacy in continuing the adventure and eventually a sort of mutiny arose.

¶ *Discovery of America*

But on Friday morning, October 12, Columbus saw before him a level island. He landed, threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy for his success; henceforward there would be honorable provision for his declining years, which was all he worried about. The island they had discovered in the New World was one of the Bahamas,

and is now called San Salvador. On December 5 they discovered Cuba. On January 16 the leader turned his ships toward Spain and on March 4 entered the river Tagus. When the Portuguese heard the news they were so jealous of the tremendous discovery that they asked their king to have the navigator assassinated, and to send a fleet to occupy his discoveries, but it was all to no purpose. A fortnight later Columbus returned to the little Spanish port of Carlos. His entry into Spain was triumphal and, when he approached the sovereigns to render homage, they graciously rose to their feet as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knees the rude sailor attempted to kiss their hands, but they hesitated to accept this act of servitude. Instead, they raised him in the most gracious manner and ordered him to be seated in their presence, an act of unprecedented humility on their part. They were thinking hard of the gold that would come their way by this fellow's achievement. There are many motives for politeness.

Soon after the bold enterprises of Columbus, which eclipsed those of their own navigators, the Portuguese dispatched their star performer Magellan on a tour of adventure. This man performed the greatest of all feats, for he sailed round the whole world. In the meantime the coast of North America was being explored by English navigators, with the success which we know.

¶ *Chance and navigation*

Most of the discoveries made concerning North America were the result of pure chance; they were quite unintentional. The Scandinavians admit that their heroes were *blown* to America (if they ever got there at all) by a heavy storm. Columbus was *looking for India* and ran blindly into the West Indies. John Cabot believed he had reached the *empire of the great khan of Tartary*; it was North America he found. Even the

minor discoveries were the result of flukes. The French found Newfoundland *during a codfishing enterprise*. The romantic Coronado set out to discover the *seven golden cities of Cibola* and found instead the gorge of Colorado, the plains of Kansas, and a number of insanitary huts along the coast of New Mexico. De Soto looked for *Peru* in North America, but found little new. The English navigator Drake found that he had "looped the loop" and circumnavigated the globe while on a piratical, freebooting *cruise in search of Spanish galleons*. Hudson thought to find his way to India by a short cut; instead he explored the river which bears his name. Thus many of the greatest discoveries in exploration were the result of blind chance; as much credit is due for them as is due to the man who now breaks the bank at Monte Carlo. There is every probability that the great inventions (which we have noted in the early parts of this work)—fire, the wheel, the boat, the steering oar, and even some still later, such as the mariner's compass and the lens, were also the result of sheer accident. Is it not possible that all man's progress in this world—including the development of human nature to that high stage at which we find it today—is it not possible that the whole thing is based upon a series of wonderful accidents? Our pride immediately banishes the thought.

We may now profitably glance at England, a country which had hitherto lain on the outer edge of the civilized world and was regarded by intelligent Europeans as a semi-barbarous nation. Britain was a country to which adventurous continentals had often turned in their search for new lands to conquer. Romans, Saxons, Jutes, and Angles had all had their turn at her. The Normans had settled there in comfort after the battle of Hastings in 1066. There was a link with France, and there were links with the Netherlands; trading

links. But the internal history of England (with the possible exception of that short period of Alfred's reign from 871 to 901 when the British navy first came into being) was a very local affair, apparently of hardly any importance to the world at large.

¶ *English genius for the sea*

It was a most important thing for the English that southern navigators should have done much of the donkey-work of exploring the seas and opening up new territories in order that British merchants should carry their mission of chivalry and civilization to the four points of the other people's compass. The new routes to the East and to the West showed great possibilities for trade and the spread of culture; for with the English the two always go hand in hand. At that time the British had not yet acquired their natural genius for seamanship and navigation; but a certain jealousy of the southerners began to show itself. The first great English navigator was John Cabot of Bristol, a Genoese; to him may be given the credit for the British part of the discovery of North America. Henceforward the way to wealth lay on the sea.

During the sixteenth century the kings of England, Henry VII and Henry VIII, and the Virgin Queen Elizabeth set about creating naval power. A race in sea armament began. The ships that were made in England were found to be better for long voyages than the older type of ships used by the southerners, for these had been built originally for use in the Mediterranean. The clash with Spain (hitherto the great naval power of the world) came in 1588. The Spanish Armada was outmaneuvered by the 197 English ships which played round and about the Spanish 132. The English vessels were easier to work, and they were manned and commanded by very able seamen—men who had already gained experience in long voyaging and rough dealings

with savages. Furthermore, the Almighty was this time entirely on the side of the English; for He caused a wind to blow, one which was any but the right wind for the maneuvering required by the Spaniards to gain a satisfactory position in the battle. The result of this ill wind was the defeat of the great Armada and the establishment of English sea power. Things were not going well for the Catholic countries just then. Cosmic forces were at play, humorously loading the dice against them, both in the material and the spiritual senses. Worst of all, the world was again beginning to think for itself.

§ 3. THE MACHINE SETS TO WORK UPON HUMAN NATURE

WE now come to a phase in human nature which must be almost as important as those phases which succeeded the discoveries of fire and cereals, the inventions of the wheel, the boat, and even writing itself. It is the phase in which paper and printing are set to work. The ultimate effects are extremely difficult to estimate, but there were certain very definite tendencies set in motion of which the immediate importance is hardly in doubt.

¶ *Theft of a great idea*

The first stage of this phase is a popularization of the manufacture of paper. It is not known definitely who invented this useful commodity but we know that it existed in China in the seventh century of the Christian era; that the Moslems stole the idea from a Mongol prisoner of war captured in 751 A.D. at Samarkand; and that in the fourteenth century it had come to Europe through the Arabs and the Greeks, and could be made in sufficient quantities for purposes of authorship and

the communication or fixation of ideas. It is important to remember this: that paper may *fix* an idea as well as communicate it. We have already seen how the mind of the Chinese was "imprisoned" by their writing. Our great difficulty is to sort out ideas, distinguishing those which have been fixed by paper, and have become almost a part of human nature from those which are still in a state of flux. It is almost an impossible task.

Johannes Gutenberg, a German scholar of the fifteenth century, was responsible for the invention of printing from movable types, and this apparently very simple invention put a light to the torch of the modern world. The invention was so full of immediate possibilities that it spread over Europe; it has reached such a stage of perfection in the twentieth century that the printed word is beginning to assume powers formerly vested in priests and kings and great military leaders.

¶ *Sheet-anchors of morality*

At the time of the invention of printing the Bible was the most important book of the West, the Koran of the East, and the works of Buddha, Confucius, and Lao-tsu of the Far East. These contained the moralities which were the great sheet-anchors of human nature. As yet the knowledge contained in them was a vested interest often of immense material value to rulers; and generally grossly perverted from its original meaning and intention. The *Love your enemies* of Jesus became the *Let us smash our enemies* of the popes—remember Urban II's great fighting sermon which started the Crusades. Gutenberg and the admirers of his invention—he was not protected by "patent rights" which, like literary copyright, are a modern refinement of selfishness—printed the Bible, and copies began to find their way into quarters they had never hitherto penetrated. Then came a period of translation, and the Great Book of the West began to be read by all sorts of people

(most of whom had no clear idea of what it was all about) including many who were now confirmed in the suspicions they were forming regarding its interpretation by those who had "made a corner" in it. It so happened that the invention of printing almost coincided with the revival of Greek learning in the West, and many men were now like the old Greeks *discussing everything*.

¶ *The English Bible*

The English reformer Wycliffe had already translated the Scriptures into English and spread a number of violently heretical ideas, some of which were taken by a Czech named John Huss and used as a basis for popular teaching. We shall see later the effect of this, but in the meantime the Englishman Caxton had gone abroad to take a course of printing craftsmanship and had returned to England in 1477 to found a press. Between that year and 1500, four hundred books were printed in England, and a considerable number of each one issued—"published" to the world. The same sort of thing was happening everywhere. The machine had set to work to diffuse ideas, and there was practically no limit to its work in this respect. Then Tyndale appeared in England. He was a man of great literary genius and indefatigable energy who brought out a version of the Bible in a style that immediately found its mark in the hearts of the people who read it. Tyndale was, of course, executed for his work, which was regarded as highly dangerous in nature to all in authority. But the seed was sown, and now the authority of the church was everywhere being challenged. By this time the English (who were never very good Roman Catholics) were working out a "liberal" system of parliamentary and legal institutions; and were growing in power. The church was already a house divided against itself, and there was a growing resentment

against the idea of an external sovereignty above that of the king—a foreign sovereignty vested in an Italian sitting at Rome. Furthermore the English disliked, as they still dislike, rigid systems of morality; they prefer both as individuals and as a nation to make their own morals. But it was none of these great tendencies which caused the revolt against church power, though they provided an excellent atmosphere in which to begin it.

¶ *Sex and religion again*

King Henry VIII was fond of variety in his bed-chamber. He liked to change his wives fairly frequently, but there were difficulties in the way—especially the sexual inhibitions of the Roman Church, which forbade divorce. Henry was not the type of man to be nonplused by such trifles. He simply arranged for the decapitation of the wives he no longer found stimulating. One must admit that before he adopted this extreme and expeditious course, he tried hard to make Rome see reason in the matter. While his first wife was still alive he secretly married Anne Boleyn (being a strict observer of good form and moral decency) and ordered Cranmer, his archbishop of Canterbury, to declare the nullity of his first matrimonial adventure, and the validity of the second. "The result was papal excommunication, responded to by an Act of Parliament passed by a subservient legislature and settling the succession in favor of Anne Boleyn's issue. Already an act had been passed making appeals to Rome treasonable, and ecclesiastics were compelled to accept the position that the pope was merely the bishop of Rome. The political side of the Reformation was completed when, in 1534, parliament was induced to pass acts declaring the king to be supreme head on earth of the Church of England (the Act of Supremacy) and granting him the first fruits and tenths hitherto paid to the pope. A layman—Thomas Crom-

well—was appointed Vicar-General in Spiritual Matters, and the Act of Supremacy was enforced with bloodshed. . . .” *

¶ *Golden age of execution*

Protestantism spread in England, and at Henry's death its adherents were as numerous as the Catholics. A struggle for power began. This meant that whichever side happened at the moment to be in the ascendant would persecute the other party. Protestants sought out, flogged, and executed Catholics; and vice versa. The stake, the execution block, the hangman's noose achieved great popularity. It was a "golden age" for state executioners: there were seventy-two thousand executions, we are told. Sometimes by way of diversion a bag of gunpowder would be placed amongst fagots at the feet of a victim, and cheers would go up from the mob as a limb or head was blown sky-high. Bishop Hooper, a Protestant, was so served in the market-place of Gloucester on February 9, in the year of grace 1555; and hundreds of others. By 1571 Protestantism was firmly established in England, and an Act of Parliament bound children above a certain age to receive the sacrament of Christ in the form prescribed by law. Later, a fine of £20 was imposed on all who failed to go to church. This started off afresh the old craze for martyrdom, and we see Catholics courting death for their symbols.

The Reformation sprang from a general discontent with the corruption and materialism of Rome. In England the teachings of Wycliffe, the printing press, and the translation of the Bible into English were responsible for it. Other countries affected were France, Germany, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Italy also was slightly affected. The original movement was followed by a counter-reformation led

* *The Reformation*, by D. Ogg. (1927)

by the militant Jesuits under Loyola, a remarkable man of powerful determination and an amazingly astute knowledge of the hearts of his fellows. The Jesuits worked by all means in their power for the re-establishment of Roman authority, and nearly everywhere with success. They were great educators and disciplinarians; but their methods gained them a reputation which is undeservedly evil. The Scandinavian countries and a large part of Germany and England remained unmoved by their efforts. In these countries the Reform was consolidated and developed into a system of Bible-reading in the home. No longer was it found necessary or desirable for biblical interpretation to be the sole preserve of an authoritative church. Every man became his own interpreter. The English Bible became a popular book, a best seller; and the sheet-anchor of Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy.

¶ *The germs of modern materialism*

It is almost too soon for us to estimate the full effects of the Reformation upon the development of western human nature. If we consider that it took place during an age when wealth was pouring into Europe as a result of the plundering voyages of the navigators, and then consider what happened in the following "Age of Reason" we may get a clue. Men were developing a more materialistic outlook, and religious persecutions gave a great impetus to hypocrisy. Modern capitalism seems to spring from the blending together of these forces. The Reformation secularized religious thought, and political thought became secularized at the same time. Religion was no longer the keystone which held together the social edifice. The idea of a spiritual power standing above all others is replaced by economic expediency in the struggle for wealth. And this economic expediency became the arbiter of policy and the criterion of human conduct. *"From a spiritual*

being, who, in order to survive, must devote a reasonable attention to economic interests, man seems sometimes to have become an economic animal, who will be prudent, nevertheless, if he takes due precautions to assure his spiritual well-being." *

¶ *The decline of religious conscience*

This marks a distinct change in human nature, for henceforward man develops a dual personality. He begins to dissociate entirely his religious and commercial life. He begins to think of religious duties and observances as something which have nothing whatever to do with his secular existence. And so, the "conscience" in human affairs which ruled the every act of the Catholic Christians begins to disappear after the Reformation. Henceforward it is possible for a man who is a member of the reformed religion to devote all his energy to his material welfare without this interfering with his spiritual ideas, conscience, or other behavior. Under Catholicism such a state of affairs is impossible. Whatever may be said against Catholicism (and I have said in this book as much as I deem necessary in a general treatment of human history) it has always retained to its eternal credit these great moral precepts: That poverty is no dishonor, and that religion must enter into every single affair of this life. The result of the gradual change in the attitude of men began to show itself in the struggle for wealth. It resulted in modern land-grabbing, conquests, slavery, and wars for markets, including the recent World War. From it came the modern financial system, with all its tyranny and ruthless cruelty. Because of its absence the Catholic countries of the world now occupy a second place after their more materially successful Protestant neighbors. All this may, I think, be traced back to the printing press; and to wide-spread Bible-reading, in

* R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.

which each person developed that form of secular conscience which best suited his worldly interests. We may therefore mark down the period of two hundred years beginning about 1550 and ending about 1750 as the period in which men's natures showed the most considerable change in modern times. Some may prefer to call it rather a change of mental attitude than an actual change in his nature. But the change is, to my mind, so profound that it goes to the very roots of our being.

¶ *The influence of literature*

This was the springtime of the book, the period in which it had greatest immediate effect. Marco Polo's "Travels" inspired the work of explorers. Dante's "Divine Comedy" fixed the Italian language; Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" showed that vernacular English could be a powerful literary medium. "The recognition of the importance of direct observation of Nature, rather than what ancient Greek philosophers had written nearly two thousand years before, was inaugurated by the Belgian anatomist Vesalius, whose 'De Fabrica Corporis' was published in 1543, the year which also witnessed the issue of the volume that established for all time the fame of Copernicus, and represents the beginning of our modern conception of the universe." * Rabelais in "Gargantua and Pantagruel" roared aloud with overpowering vitality, erudition, and optimism the spirit of humanism and toleration which he felt; and voiced the world's reaction against the dismal gloom of the church. It is an amazing fact that before his time there was hardly a humorous book in Christendom. Rabelais abolishes sorrow for mankind, as Jesus abolishes death. Erasmus, the Dutch scholar, took his cue from him, and in 1519 published "The Praise of Folly," a work which made learned Europe rock with laughter at the Roman

* Elliot Smith, *op. cit.*

Catholic Church. Bunyan wrote his "Pilgrim's Progress" and this book together with the Authorized Bible of 1611 and Shakespeare's Works settled the speech of the race which, in its two branches, now dominates the world.

It was also during this period that there came into existence a man whose teachings embodied in two books were to have considerable effect upon the subsequent political history of Europe. Niccolo Machiavelli was born in 1469 and died in 1527. Italy was then a divided country, in which great families were struggling for power. There were many feudal lords who had made themselves independent; there was the papal territory; in Florence a family of merchants, the Medici, had risen to power. There was great need for a strong unified Italy; and Machiavelli, the Florentine, set down in his useful work "The Prince" what he considered to be the best means whereby a ruler could achieve or retain power. Machiavelli was a realist, and he had few delusions about human nature. His is rather a cold-blooded book, but its redeeming quality is honesty and its utter lack of sentimentalism. There is no crime, he says, no cruelty and no means to be neglected by the ruler who wishes to retain power. Scruples may be thrown to the winds, and every political question should be decided in accordance with sheer expediency. There was nothing really new about Machiavelli's teachings, but he was the first man to have the ability and honesty to put them on paper. He allows his Prince as much force and fraud as he requires, and advocates a policy of frightfulness should this be necessary. The name of Machiavelli has been execrated for preaching such a doctrine. But let us not forget that it is in the background of nearly all modern political practice. For several centuries "The Prince" has been carefully studied by governors and politicians

in all countries of the world, since it is one of the most practical documents one can find where the governance of men is concerned. Napoleon read it carefully in the original; and no doubt Mussolini studied it for style.

¶ *Culture and loot*

Life was now tending to become a derivative of literature. The "New Atlantis" of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, showed the marvelous possibilities of science, and already strange men were poring over retorts, clearing away the dusty knowledge of ages. So great was the attraction of books for men, even those of the adventurous sort, that when the earl of Essex plundered Cadiz he was content to take with him as personal loot the great library of Bishop Jerome Osorio. Later, when the earl was racking his brains to find a gift for a faithful supporter he remembered his loot. He gave it to Bodley, and it formed that nucleus of culture around which grew the Bodleian Library of Oxford University; where it is still found to be most useful in Spanish and other studies.

Elliot Smith tells us how simple social customs such as tea-drinking promoted the advancement of learning. Famous learned societies and literary academies were created in the days when tea-drinking and coffee-houses were first established, and there was an intimate relationship between these social institutions and the cultivation of academic discussions and the work of the scientific societies. It is also within this period that we find the beginnings of modern journalism and the newspaper. The first real newspaper published in England was the *Public Intelligencer* edited by Sir Roger L'Estrange. It appeared in 1663. L'Estrange was a man of immense energy, considerable learning and independence of mind. He was a master of a free and intimate style that was admirably suited to pamphleteering and popular appeal. He had a "nose for news"

and a knack of producing the striking and often humorous headline. He led the memorable battle for the freedom of the press in England. To him and to his successors who perfected the cheap daily paper we may attribute some of the changes that have taken place in the mentality of England up to the twentieth century.

¶ *Eton and gentlemen appear*

It was during L'Estrange's time that English clergy took upon themselves the title of Reverend; before that date they were ordinary men like ourselves. It should also be remarked that it was during this great period that Gentlemen came into existence, about the same time as the invention of firearms in 1364 by the Italians, but before the chain, the grape and the canister-shot were perfected, and nearly four hundred years before the Reverend Mr. Forsythe, a reverend gentleman of the Reformed Church, patented his percussion principle of igniting gunpowder in muskets by means of detonating powder. It was also about this time that Eton College was founded by Henry VI, that is to say about a hundred years after the invention of the Gentleman. To Eton may be attributed much with which we are now familiar in English life. To the Gentleman, Eton represents the ideal form of education for boys. It is in this school that the top hat and tail coat are still worn; and the top hat and tail coat have become symbols of that dignity and grace for which the English upper classes are famous. The ambition of the teachers at Eton has been and is to turn out boys whose minds are all dressed exactly alike, and boys whose thoughts will always even in adversity have top hats and tail coats. Thus the uniform is often an outward and visible sign of an inward invisible grace. It symbolizes dignity; and, as regards dignity and certain other qualities, the modern Englishman tends to be like the old Romans, who have already been described.

§ 4. LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

WE now come to that momentous stage in human affairs: the age of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu, and other Frenchmen responsible for many changes in the public opinion of Europe and the attitude of western man toward life. The three men named were responsible on the continent of Europe for instilling into the minds of the masses the pernicious doctrine that they had public rights as well as public duties; that religion generally was not what it seemed to be; and that there was such a thing as human reason, which, if it only could be used judiciously, might improve the happiness of mankind.

¶ *Freakish influence of one man*

Voltaire is one of the prodigies of all literature. Historian, essayist, pamphleteer, novelist, short-story writer, and philosopher, he had an influence on the Europe of the eighteenth century that was almost freakish. We should not forget that without the printing press it must have been negligible. The age was one in which men became susceptible to almost any appeal that could be symbolized as "reason." Europeans were becoming rather tired of the consequences of religion, and by now the printing-press and newspapers were spreading a knowledge of the schisms and sects and squabbles and other frailties that are found in all doctrines. One of the first works of Voltaire was an appeal for religious toleration. It was so well written that the author became famous immediately and was everywhere lionized. His satirical wit, brilliant literary style, great sense of irony, and his ability to give a stinging reply to an intellectual opponent very soon caused him to be locked up in the Bastille. There he decided that France was not a safe place for him to

work in; and so, when released, he went to reside at Ferney on the frontier near Geneva, which could be reached very quickly on the first indication of peril. For good or evil he settled there and began an immense output of works on every conceivable subject; all of them written in his lucid and sparkling style.

¶ *The influence of good style*

The French of Voltaire is so simple and straightforward that its meaning can be appreciated by a foreign schoolboy who has played with French in the schoolroom during three or four years. To the French themselves it is the simplest of the simple; the ideal literary style, rather like that of the Irishmen Jonathan Swift and George Bernard Shaw in English. The importance of literary style in such a work as Voltaire had undertaken can hardly be overestimated. For, however good the reasoning, if it were not stated in terms capable of comprehension and even admiration by ordinary men, it could never hope to move masses to action. French writers of the "Age of Reason" are all excellent stylists, facile composers and witty as well as learned. Their works were read in the households and discussed in the streets. Voltaire's chief struggle was against the Roman Church, and he dealt it a blow from which it has never since fully recovered. To him it was an infamous institution, and he set up the cry "*Écrasez l'infâme!*" The French clergy, monks and nuns numbered in 1762 over four hundred thousand, with total possessions estimated at two thousand million pounds, producing an annual revenue of about one hundred and forty millions. They were free from taxation and higher members of the church possessed all the rights and privileges of the feudal nobility. The church was the champion of privilege and misgovernment. "It was," says Sloane, "the cement of French society to a higher degree than the absolute monarchy."

Not only did Voltaire deal a severe blow to the Church of Rome. He wounded all religion. It is too early yet to say whether religion, even as we know it, can ever again have the power which it had before Voltaire; to all appearances it cannot. The intellectual government of Europe came under the leadership of this man for a period of no less than fifty years. The Roman Catholic Cardinal De Bernis has called him "the great man of the eighteenth century"; and with this judgment posterity has agreed. Voltaire enthroned Reason in the affairs of men, after she had been dethroned for a period of two thousand years.

¶ *The doctrines of Rousseau*

Almost contemporary with Voltaire was Rousseau, a man of exalted sensibility and active imagination. An early life of misery and suffering made him declare war against the inequalities of society. Relying entirely upon his feelings (which were tinged with much sentimentalism and passion) he attacked nearly all human institutions. A savage, morose, and speculative man, his appeal was entirely to the sentiments. His style is an exaggerated declamation, which, taken in small doses, is very stimulating. All Rousseau's teaching was based upon the assumption that *human nature can be molded by education and environment*. It dismisses heredity and tradition. The way to happiness on this earth, he says in effect, is to have few needs. Unhappiness does not consist in the lack of things but in an unsatisfied desire for them. Man is not a savage creature, but one that has often grown savage because of the environment of civilization. He is fundamentally a good creature and can, if he but try, make himself and his fellows and descendants perfect by creating good institutions, and by developing the goodness that is in him. Happiness should be the end in view of all political and social effort. In other words, constitute

man a moral being and you will make for the excellence of all human nature.

Behind all this moralizing was a realistic political doctrine that was to prove far more attractive to men and women: the doctrine of the *sovereignty of the people*. Such a doctrine challenged all the religious and political dogmas, and was eagerly seized upon for popularization by the followers of the new teacher. Rousseau preached fraternity, almost the same doctrine as that of the Quakers. He firmly believed that man's nature is a thing capable of growth and development: but if it is to be developed in the right direction it must first be thoroughly understood; and if neglected it will grow worse. Harmony based upon the educated will of the mass is what is necessary, he said, for the good of mankind.

¶ *Montesquieu's slogan*

The emotional teaching of Rousseau was rather vague, inconsistent apparently, and not held together by a very clear logical system of reasoning. This defect was remedied by the third of these great Frenchmen, Montesquieu, in his philosophical work "The Spirit of Laws" written in 1729. In this work the writer evolved a combination of words—*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*—that formed the symbol which was to be the battle cry of the revolution of 1789. He first gave to France the theory of a mixed government, and revealed the principles of a representative system. His work made people think furiously and, when added to that of Rousseau and Voltaire, was largely responsible for the overthrow of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the priesthood of France.

In every phase of life there were changes during this age. There is an endeavor to simplify ideas; to banish puzzling complexities; to approach reality; to investigate. The results were to be seen even down to the dress

of the people, which itself became simpler. It is to this period that we may attribute the beginning of the artistic dominance in woman's dress and fashion for which Paris is still notable. A new architecture, new painting, and a progressive science showed itself. Literature made astounding progress; natural history for the first time received detailed treatment of a philosophical nature. And yet the king, the church, and the aristocrats long retained their power, and continued to grind the faces of the poor. It was in this atmosphere that the revolution was born.

There is no need to enter into the details of the political squabbles which culminated in the French Revolution. Briefly, the monarchy found itself short of cash and called a meeting of the nobles, clergy, and commons in 1789; this body, the States General, had been abolished in 1610, when the monarchy became absolute. The gathering gave the common people a means of expressing a long fermenting discontent. The Third Estate—the Commons—soon gained control; and the king, seeing the danger, mobilized troops in the provinces. This threat of violence sent the whole of France into open revolution. The monarchy collapsed, and a government of the people was formed. France showed a mad passion of "patriotism." A republic was proclaimed and war was declared on the aristocrats.

¶ *"Progress" is based on cruelty*

The reign of terror which followed has been painted in vivid colors by many writers. But let us endeavor to look behind the scenes at the aspect of human nature which especially manifested itself just then. It is remarkable that there can be no progress on this earth without cruelty. We have seen how this showed itself in the architecture of Egypt, built by the labor of hundreds of thousands of slaves and workmen under the encouragement of the whip. We have seen how the

civilizing influence of Rome was the result of innumerable wars and law based upon bludgeon rule. We have seen how the church established itself by the cruel suppression of thought, and tried to conserve its influence by the tortures of the Holy Inquisition. We have seen that the Reformation was responsible for the formation of modern capitalism, of which the first phase was slavery (to which we shall come very soon) followed by industrialism and finance (to which we shall come later). Now we shall see that the French Revolution, which was very largely responsible for the growth of modern republicanism and democracy, was the result of almost unparalleled cruelty. A *machine* consisting of men (the outcome of the scientific spirit) began to rule in France. The Constituent Assembly of the people, having declared war upon the aristocrats, looked round for a convenient method of exterminating them. Before that time undesirable persons had been hanged, broken on the wheel, boiled, or incinerated, but the Assembly consisted of a large number of humane-minded men who were unwilling that unnecessary pain should be inflicted. They had misgivings about the various popular methods of official killing, and had well-grounded suspicions for believing that they were not as merciful as they might be. Headsmen operating with ax or sword would not be immune from human fallibility; and hanging required far too much skill, and besides it wasted much valuable time, for it may take an hour to hang a man to death, as English law now admits.

¶ *Dr. Guillotin: philanthropist and humanitarian*

In seasons of perplexity in human affairs, someone usually comes forward with a remedy which seems to offer a solution of the difficulties. Now we see that great philanthropist and humanitarian, Dr. Guillotin, concentrating his immense intellect upon the problem

of how most quickly and most humanely to dispose of the unwanted. He studied old records and found that the Chinese had used an instrument which contained elements of great utility. He found that this machine had been used with success by a highly civilized and indeed humane people, to wit the English, in the form of a gibbet at Halifax. The same implement, he found, was in contemporaneous use by certain of the more enlightened German states. He consulted the celebrated Charles Henri Sanson, the high priest of French executioners, and found that this quick-witted man immediately showed favor for the machine. A model was built and experiments were made decapitating sheep. The model proved its efficiency beyond doubt. Dr. Guillotin gave a report of the invention which his genius had plagiarized, and the delighted Assembly decided that thenceforward it should be used for executions. Legislation was introduced, and so the mechanical decapitator constructed by Dr. Guillotin was destined to immortalize the good man's name. His machine was so excellent that they still use it in France for public executions, which are well patronized by the people; they are indeed so popular today that cavalry has to be used to keep the crowds of spectators in order.

At first the change was not very pleasing to the people. The instrument, it would appear, did not kill, in the sense that hanging kills. It suppressed. It was far too rapid in its action to provide really popular enjoyment. After those early guillotining the crowds dispersed, disappointedly singing:

"Give us back our wooden gallows;
Give us back our gallows."

Dr. Guillotin and his friends were hurt: to think that they had not scored a success with the mob! How

annoying that this swift, hygienic, and polite instrument—the culmination of man's mechanical ingenuity at an opportune moment—should not be immediately appreciated! Never mind. A little patience and—! In the Place de Grave in Paris the guillotine was first set up in France. To this point the executioner came every day, his umbrella under his arm. There he removed his hat and coat, rolled up his sleeves and set his machine in motion. Very soon he developed an artistic pride in the work. As he became more accustomed to the mechanism, his speed increased. It was found, to the delight of those in power, that if an isolated guillotining was unsatisfying to the mob, a day's work at it could provide them excellent entertainment. Think of the thrills!—each one depending upon the character and reputation of the person to be decapitated, and therefore different from the last. It was ideal.

¶ *Fun for the folks*

When the extermination of the aristocrats began in real earnest, the "Widow" (as the guillotine was familiarly called) became the center of social attraction. In the midst of a wave of fanaticism, to the cry of *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* the rhythmic music of the rising and falling blade rendered a sweet accompaniment. Aristocrats were drawn there in carts. Later the machine was moved to the Place du Trône, where prisoners had their heads swiftly removed, in batches and even crowds.

Gradually, we are informed, the Quartier Saint-Honoré wearied of the spectacle that was presented day after day. The carts of condemned completely ruined business at certain hours. When a procession approached, the shops had to be shut; and the streets abandoned to the mob. First hawkers would appear, circulating the freshly printed list of victims, whereupon the bystanders gathered into groups and posted

themselves before the house-fronts, shouting ribaldries or singing revolutionary choruses. The upper windows were filled with onlookers. Suddenly the cry went up, "Heigh-ho! Here they come!" The lines of the Grand Avenue of the Tuileries were strangely broken by the spectacle of the guillotine, while the soil surrounding it was always saturated with blood, to such a degree that the footsteps of those who crossed the square could be traced to a considerable distance—as far as the pavement of the Rue de Bourgogne—and this, it seems, was not regarded as an attraction by the snobbish inhabitants of the district. A hole measuring "about six cubic feet" was dug underneath the platform to take the blood and also the water with which the engine was frequently washed. But this trench was quickly filled and began to poison the surrounding air to such an extent that the authorities, in the interests of public health, decided to fill it up and make another deep enough to absorb the blood.

¶ *Decapitations galore*

Between April 6, 1793, and July 29, 1795, Dr. Guillotin's great machine had severed two thousand eight hundred and thirty-one heads, and the inspiration behind this activity was the cause of *Liberty, Equality* and *Fraternity*, which had been preached by those two humanitarians, Rousseau and Montesquieu. Danton excused himself for it all by saying: "The Revolutionary Tribunal! I ask forgiveness for it from God and man." Saint-Just wisely remarked: "*The experience of the Terror dulled the sense of crime, as strong liquors dull the palate.*"

"The time is rabid," comments someone, "and all men are rabid." A representative of the people dashed his sword into the blood flowing from a provincial guillotine and exclaimed, "How I love it!" By his order mothers stood by while the guillotine devoured their

children. A band of music was assembled near, and at the fall of every head struck up the merry tune of "Ça ira"! Royalist supporters cut down the revolutionary symbol of liberty in the town of Bedouin. The people's representative heard of it and "burns Bedouin to the last dog hutch, guillotines the inhabitants or drives them into the caves and hills": the republic must be one and indivisible. In the year 1793, on December 20, France began the worship of the new goddess: Reason. An elaborate ceremony took place to symbolize the installation of the divinity, and in the provinces the example of Paris was followed. The nation went mad in its fanaticism for the worship of the new. Nothing was good unless it would stand the test of human reason.

And the results of it all?

¶ *The cost of hobnobbing*

An impetus was given to the use of the mind; the guillotine sharpened the wits of men. The resultant gospel of democracy reached far outside the borders of France, although there was little immediate Liberty or Equality and still less Fraternity. Nevertheless the idea caught on in many countries, and those which were not prepared to put it into practice were forced in time to render lip service to it. Aristocrats everywhere grew less domineering, and the priest ceased for a while from interfering in political matters. The price paid by France for such progress was terrible. But today in France all men and women are equal socially. The general will exchange a joke with the private soldier; the prime minister with his charwoman. Snobbery hardly exists. And although governments may change from week to week, the country is an exceedingly prosperous one. This is all partly due to the guillotine and to the intensive education provided by the Age of Reason. But behind the present French and other mentali-

ties is another factor—militarism, which also sprang from the Revolution, and has not yet passed away. It sprang from the reaction to *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* on the part of those who suffered most from it: the aristocrats. Hence militarism is a creation of both patricians and plebeians. But it was a plebeian who, wishing to ape the domineering attitude of aristocrats, gave it the impetus which has carried it down to our own day in the most important countries of the world.

§ 5. GOD IS GOD, BUT BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

WE have seen that the most profound change in human nature produced by the vagaries of religion during the Reformation and afterwards was a division of the mind of man into two separate compartments. The spiritual life was now a thing which he no longer intermixed with common and sordid affairs of everyday, as he had hitherto done from time immemorial. The division between the two was not at first sharp: the change was a gradual one from the domination of human nature by God during seven days of the week to that stage when one day was considered sufficient. The date at which this great change took place was between 1550 and 1750; for historical convenience we may put it down as about 1650.

¶ *God is put in His place*

From that time the western world began to act on the principle that, whereas the worship of God and a strict observance of religious morality is an excellent thing, it need not interfere greatly with the general tenor of one's way, provided always one solemnizes religion in certain seasons or on occasion. "God is God but after

all Business is Business'' was the feeling that was steadily growing among trading peoples. I propose to demonstrate the truth of this by dealing summarily with the history of the slave trade; this phase of history also illustrates a few further truths, to which reference will be made later.

Slavery has existed from the very beginning of man's records. It has existed because of the great conveniences and facilities it offers to the happiness of certain human beings and communities; it still exists in a surprisingly large number of places; and will probably continue to exist somewhere for a very long time. By slavery I do not mean the "wage-slavery" which has taken the place of actual ownership: but that system by which the slave-owner possesses the slave against the world, as he might possess a horse or a cow; and by which he can sell his slave or make him work in return for food and shelter, just as he can make a horse or donkey work; or sell him to the highest bidder and make profitable commerce when this course seems the more lucrative. In real slavery the owner also has the right to recapture his slave and may call upon the state to help him.

¶ *Christianity and slavery*

One might imagine that Christianity ought to have put an end to the vast system of slavery which contributed to the comfort and wealth of the Roman Empire. But there was not a word in early Christian literature to encourage the manumission of slaves: St. Paul had recognized the position of the master; and that was good enough. Nor do we find any condemnation of the institution anywhere in the writings of the fathers. The church itself owned slaves and we find that the Council of Toledo in 597 stigmatized as robbers those who set free the slaves of the church without giving an equivalent. The Council of Epæone,

517, prohibited abbots from emancipating the slaves of their monasteries. Slaves were bequeathed to the church by will, or given as an act of piety; and seldom if ever was a gift refused. The church, too, held its own slaves to the very end. Voltaire estimated that in his day the church still possessed between fifty thousand and sixty thousand of them.*

¶ *The first Big Business*

The modern world, with an eye to returns on a scale that was lacking among our pagan and barbarian forebears, made the slave trade into Big Business—the first really Big Business in the world. It was the Christian peoples of Europe and America who first fully appreciated the cash value of human cattle and the compound profits that could, with a minimum of care, be drawn from a commerce of buying and selling members of races inferior in war and culture. With the Greeks and Romans the slave was on the whole well treated and often had more personal freedom than the modern industrialist will give his employees in working hours. Roman law provided for the freeing of slaves, many of whom reached high and responsible positions in society; indeed there was practically no stigma attaching to being a Greek or Roman slave, for such a position nearly always resulted from capture in battle, or otherwise as a prize of war. The benevolence of Greeks and Romans toward their slaves seems nauseating sentimentalism when we compare the sterner and saner attitude adopted by civilized modern Europe and America. For us the slave became a commodity which brought cash. Out of slavery grew business on a scale which laid the foundations of the wealth of England, the United States, and other countries to a lesser degree, because they did not possess our commercial acumen.

* Chapman Cohen, *Christianity and Slavery*.

¶ *The slave ship Jesus*

To the enlightened followers of Columbus must be given the credit of the grand discovery that slavery was well worth commercializing. The first British slaving venture was brought to a successful conclusion by the celebrated admiral jolly Jack Hawkins, who in 1562 shipped three hundred Africans from Sierra Leone to Santo Domingo. Hawkins was a man of peculiarly Anglo-Saxon type, in whose personality a piratical piety and religious rascality were delicately blended. Our second venture was in a ship which the religious spirit of our mariners named the *Jesus*. Shortly after sailing, the good ship was becalmed, and the cargo of human cattle had to be put on the short rations of the period (which were far shorter than a modern army's iron rations). This threatened grave financial losses to the moving spirits of the enterprise. Happily disaster was averted, for we read that, "Almighty God, who never suffereth His Elect to perish, sent Us a breeze," so there were jigs and hornpipes on the upper deck.

It speaks very highly of the Christian spirit of traders that they insisted upon the full holy baptism of slaves before these were shipped from Africa; and if, in the rush to catch a favorable wind, the rites necessary to comforts in the world to come were omitted, a clause in the bill of lading provided for baptism before market in the New World. Could anything be more thoughtful? Slaves' welfare in this world was often deplorably neglected; but every precaution was taken to see that their place in Heaven would be assured, because traders and owners realized at an early date that slaves would thereby work far harder and suffer far more while on this earth. The much neglected bliss of Heaven now came into its own among the Negroes. Had it not been for the comforts of religion, there is no knowing how much traders and owners would have

lost in money—by unrest, rebellion, or the moral and physical collapse of their ignorant human cattle.

¶ *Humanitarianism at sea*

At first the trade was unregulated. But intelligent financiers behind it discovered that this meant endless loss by deaths and disease. Traders would have to be saved from their own greed, and hence "regulations" were introduced; in the same manner that humanitarian legislation in the form of factory acts and merchant shipping acts was necessary simultaneously to preserve commercial morality and insure greater efficiency in nineteenth century England. A "regulated" trade-ship the *Brookes*, for example, of 297 tons, was allowed to carry 450 persons. She carried 351 men, 127 women, 90 boys, and 41 girls—a total of 609: rather more than the regulations permitted—but what matter? The length of the lower deck on which the slaves were carried was one hundred feet, and in this space were packed men, women, children, and babies without the slightest regard for health or decency. It was customary to allow six feet by one foot four inches for a man or woman, five feet by one foot two inches for a boy, and four feet six inches by one foot for a girl. In fact, for each item of cargo about the same space as would be necessary for a coffin to hold it. The slaves were chained to each other. Crammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted fatal disorders, so that when the skipper came to inspect them in the morning he had occasionally to pick the dead out of their rows and to unchain their carcasses from the bodies of their fellow tourists. Exclusive of the slaves who died before leaving Africa, it is reliably stated that not more than fifty out of every hundred lived to earn money for their purchasers. Such a loss of good labor could never occur in our own more efficient age.

Nine million slaves were shipped, mostly from

Africa to America. From 1800 to 1850 they were transported at the rate of many thousands a year. Only men and women of good breed and physical fitness were chosen. In certain parts of Africa the Darwinian law regarding the survival of the fittest produced strange results: the fittest were selected, placed on board ship to die at the rate of one out of every four or five, ultimately only one or two to live a full life. The halt, the maimed, the blind, the decrepit, and the degenerate were left behind to do their best in the perpetuation of their races. This explains why the modern American Negro is a finer man than the African. It is about the only example one can discover of the last achieving *en masse* the first place. The élite of the colored races that went to the New World found compensation in the civilizing influence of the whites, while the unfortunate "rejects" were left to their tom-toms and juju, helpless instances of the traders' regrets.

¶ *Morality in a bill of lading*

British laws upheld slavery—quite rightly from the point of view of the new business morality. Here is the actual wording of a bill of lading used by the good ship Thomas just over a hundred and fifty years ago: "Shipped by the grace of God in good order, and well conditioned, by James Dodd, in and upon the good ship Thomas, master under God for this present voyage, Captain Peter Roberts, and now at anchor at Calabar, and by God's grace bound for Jamaica, with 630 slaves, men and women, branded D.D., and numbered in the margin 31 D.D., and are to be delivered in good state and well conditioned, at the port of Kingston (the dangers of the sea and mortality alone excepted) unto Messrs. Broughton and Smith. In witness whereof the master and purser of the ship Thomas hath affirmed to this Bill of Lading, and God send the good ship to her destined port in safety. Amen. October 31st, 1767."

Note the sublime simplicity of the word "mortality": no pernickety medical technicalities about that. And note the great piety of this bill of lading, which had all the power and majesty of British law behind it. From 1750 to 1800 was truly a golden age for slave-traders and, as I have mentioned, it was during this period that the basis was laid of subsequent British and American prosperity.

Notwithstanding the wealth that was being drawn to England by the pursuit of slave-trading and slavery, it was a decision of a British court of law which first sent through the world the moral influence that ended in the emancipation of great masses of slaves, leaving for this twentieth century only scattered and isolated instances of slavery. It took this moral influence sixty-two years to ripen in England, for it was not until 1834 that slavery was abolished by law throughout the British Empire.

† *Progress through bloodshed*

America tends, they say, to be slower than Europe in an appreciation of the finer shades of morality where morality touches the pocket, as it did in this slave question; and a terrible war was necessary to enforce it. Twenty-eight years later, during one of the most bitter struggles in the history of a Christian race, about an issue which now seems to us to be in a moral sense ridiculously simple, Abraham Lincoln achieved fame by giving Negroes in the States their freedom. Seldom in human history had there been a greater gesture, when we consider the materialism which it flouted. Lincoln was undoubtedly one of the finest examples of human nature that ever lived, and his humane influence still survives. But he paid the almost inevitable penalty that follows those who attempt to free either the body or the mind of old and lucrative shackles. On April 15, 1865, he was dispatched from

further pernicious educational activities by the bullet of an assassin. Had Lincoln and his spirit lived, it is doubtful if American prosperity could have advanced so rapidly; but the soul of a nation might possibly have been preserved a little longer.

The period between Lincoln and the League of Nations decision of 1925 favoring the abolition of slavery "in all its forms" is notable for struggles by backward races in all parts of the world to achieve their freedom. America was not last in the race. In Putumayo, where man treated his fellow man worse than he has ever treated brute beasts, and in the Congo, where under Belgian supervision about *five million* Negroes disappeared as a result of the unparalleled cruelty of profiteering taskmasters, we have almost contemporary record of the degradation of which commercialized human nature is capable in the twentieth century. In 1924 the maharaja of Nepal denounced in his neighborhood an institution which, though shorn of western refinements, is but a form of slavery. And so the struggle for *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, still continues.

It may come as a surprise to many that, notwithstanding the work of the three great emancipators, Wilberforce, Lincoln, and the maharaja of Nepal, slavery and slave-trading with all its amenities still exists in Abyssinia, Algeria, China, Egypt, Eritrea, the Far East, the Hejaz, Kufra, Liberia, Morocco, South Morocco, Rio de Oro, East Sahara, West Sahara, British Somaliland, French and Italian Sudan, and South Tripoli.* It is practiced openly in several Mohammedan states in Asia, the Arabian peninsula, and the Hejaz. In a veiled form it still exists in so many places that a list would merely bore the reader, who may remember the Sierra Leone scandal of a year or two ago.

* See Harris, *Slavery or Sacred Trust*.

¶ *Value of money*

It is a maxim of modern civilization (as well as being inherent in human nature) to pay the minimum of cost consistent with maintaining the efficiency of an article or a piece of work. This principle has remained unchanged in the whole history of the race. He who pays more than is necessary is regarded by his fellow men and women as an imbecile; and he who gets the best result with the minimum of expenditure is regarded as a genius. By employing slaves, the more fortunate human beings have been able to obtain services for the bare cost of physical support, and in countries rich in agricultural products the cost of nutriment is very low, almost negligible in some cases. Add to this a healthy climate, and human effort is obtainable with hardly any expenditure; for clothing and shelter are then requisite only in certain seasons of the year. No further details are necessary to explain the origin of slavery, except that slave owners must always have behind them a military or some other force strong enough to keep their slaves in order, or to exterminate them should rebellion or other unfortunate contingencies necessitate this most regrettable loss. Men and women who have failed to perfect their powers of resistance, whether these powers be psychological or military, have always fallen victims to their more powerful neighbors; hence slavery ancient and modern. All this is the A B C of human nature and, although the manner of application and the customs that go with it may have changed on the surface, it is still fundamentally true in most parts of the world. Selfishness and greed again are the driving impulses of the conquerors.

To the modern phase of slavery, which itself was part and parcel of the "God is God but Business is Business" idea, and to the French "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" movement, we may trace those great differ-

ences between human nature as it is today and as it was a thousand years ago. We find now a cynical business morality which (especially in America) is often closely escorted by pseudo-religion. Alongside of this we find that there are innumerable genuinely humanitarian impulses, which spring from the soul's reaction against the cruelties of the slave trade and its legitimate child, modern industrialism. Cruelty disappears gradually from the individual, who holds his head in the air and becomes ashamed to beat a naughty child or ill-treat a dog. But nations still go to war on trivial excuses, prompted by commercial greed; and then we see all the vilest qualities of human nature mobilized by an appeal to our better feelings and stimulated by poster and cinema, sermon and pamphlet, book and newspaper. The machine exerts its mighty power and then—poor humanity goes straight back to the jungle. Yet it is a remarkable testimony to the change in the human heart that we must now fall back upon the machine when we wish to stimulate ourselves *en masse* to cruelties such as those of war.

§ 6. WAR AND THE IDEALISM OF NAPOLEON

WE come now to a man who may almost be called a modern Codifier of Morality, one whose nature differed slightly from that of his great predecessors, but whose effect upon the world has been very great; and whose idealism is still with us, although in a slightly modified and improved form. The "sentimentalism" of Rousseau and the rationalism of Voltaire and Montesquieu caused some trouble in monarchical and aristocratic circles in France, during which there arose, as we have seen, that noble instrument of Liberty, Equal-

ity and Fraternity, the guillotine, which in turn gave the French a further lease of the egotism and patriotism for which their country has always been notable. In the year 1769 there was born in Corsica an important child, Napoleon Bonaparte. He was a clever, hot-tempered, and autocratic boy with a prodigious memory and a bent for mathematics; and his qualities and ambitions turned toward a military career. Young Napoleon had read Rousseau and other writers of the period, and, like many great men, his early ideas ran to extremes. Glancing at Europe he saw the Holy Roman Empire tottering while France was becoming a great political power. He conceived a magnificent idea: to replace the old Roman Empire with one whose headquarters he would establish in Paris.

† *The brilliant young officer*

About this time there was (as there always is in such circumstances) a strong reaction against the doctrines and general activities of the revolutionaries. The young artillery officer had the good luck to be in Paris at a moment when the royalists and aristocrats in 1795 made their last attempt to snatch power from the revolutionary government. The services of Napoleon were enlisted by the government, and there is no doubt but that his military skill was the means of saving the republic. Delighted with the ability of the brilliant young officer, members of the government arranged that he should be given promotion, so in 1796 he was given command of the army which had been created to make an attack upon northern Italy. He wrote home that he intended to exact twenty million francs from the Italians, and like the old Roman generals he held before his soldiers the prospects of honor, glory, and loot. In his imagination he saw himself the leader of a French campaign which would make the French the most powerful nation in the world.

He won his first war brilliantly, and imposed a peace which had in it the vigorous germ of further wars. He then persuaded the government to allow him to attempt the capture of Egypt; in this he succeeded, but, after he had landed, his fleet was destroyed by the British at the memorable battle of the Nile. He was thus completely isolated. The Turks gathered against him, but he defeated them at Jaffa and butchered the prisoners taken by his army. By another of those strokes of chance (by which so many military campaigns are won) the cutting-off and isolation of Napoleon prevented the people at home from knowing what was happening. Affairs were not going well in Paris. There was a severe financial crisis. Meanwhile, Napoleon slipped through the British fleet and landed in France. He was the "strong man" that was required at the moment. A conspiracy placed the Corsican in the chief executive position. A new constitution was drawn up, and submitted to the country. It was couched in terms favorable to Napoleon, and when the nation accepted it France had completely placed itself in his hands. Five years later he was crowned emperor by the pope. It was a lightning career so far.

¶ *Napoleon converted to religion*

Napoleon was a close student of human nature, and he had formed in his mind the lowest possible estimate of it. He saw that man can never be happy without religion, so he made a cunning pact with Rome. He would restore the authority of the priest in the parishes, and so make the people more manageable; for he believed that there is nothing better than religion to keep the masses quiet, so long as it is on your side. He was a student of history. The emperor became a Christian teacher. "It is my wish," he said, "to reestablish foreign Christian missions, for missionaries may be very useful to me as spies in all the lands they visit, in Asia, Africa,

and America. They will be protected by the sanctity of their dress, which will serve to conceal their political and commercial investigations. The head of the missionary establishment shall be in Paris, and not in Rome." In matters of education he was also very astute.

Realizing that the great educative scheme (drafted by the revolutionary Condorcet in the Age of Reason to provide for a system of free education for the entire nation) would tend to develop the minds of men, and perhaps even make them think, he saw the course before him clear. Elementary education must be completely neglected, or encouraged as little as political expediency would permit. With regard to women he found education entirely unnecessary; their job was knitting. In a code of laws he fixed the status of the workers and peasants as well as that of the women: all of them were placed on a basis which would leave them entirely at his disposal—for war or for peace.

¶ *The romance of butchery*

By this time he had thoroughly frightened the English. He had become king of Italy; he had dissolved the Holy Roman Empire, occupied Vienna, defeated the combined armies of Austria and Russia in the battle of Austerlitz, and utterly humiliated the Prussians. His friends and relations became kings and rulers. Spain had become a subject state, the Confederation of the Rhine and the duchy of Warsaw were under his sway. By 1810 Napoleon had become the most powerful man in western civilization. His military campaigns (like all big military campaigns, and butcheries on a grand scale) are among the most romantic stories in the whole of history. His personal influence over his men was something which had not been seen in the world since the days of Alexander or the semi-barbarian Charlemagne. Such is the attraction of successful rascals for those whom they succeed in hypnotizing.

The English navy caused the downfall of Napoleon, first by an indirect influence, and afterwards by a direct one. It treated as contraband of war all articles of foreign commerce attempting to enter the French Empire or belonging to Napoleon's allies. The selfish Russians, in the face of this threat to their trade, broke their alliance with France in 1807. Five years later Napoleon entered Russia with an army of six hundred thousand. After one great defeat the Russians refused to fight a pitched battle, but instead they devastated their country before the invader, removed all supplies of food and proceeded to harass the French army from all sides. They repeated the tactics of Fabius in the Punic wars.

¶ *The Russian debacle*

When the French reached Moscow in the middle of summer, their spirit was broken; after the one battle they had lost as many men as their enemies. The Russians, rather than permit the French a comfortable occupation of their capital, decided to burn it; much of the city was destroyed and still in conflagration when the French arrived. Napoleon decided to retreat, and made his way back to France, arriving with scarcely more than twenty thousand men. Nearly half a million souls of the French forces and perhaps half as many Russian troops perished as the result of Napoleon's fit of pique with the tsar for having broken an unprofitable alliance. This is an excellent example of how the mere splenetic whim of a man with power may control to the point of death the destiny of hosts of his fellow creatures.

France, though weary and disappointed with the Russian adventure, had not entirely lost confidence in the empire. A new army was created from the dregs. It was necessary, because the English with their genius for diplomacy had begun to organize alliances against

the Napoleonic threat to their existence. The moment was ripe for such alliances, and they quickly came. In 1814 Austrians, Prussians, Russians, and Swedes crossed the Rhine; from the south came British and Spanish troops to join them. Napoleon was defeated and abdicated. The victories restored the old monarchy in the person of Louis XVIII and Napoleon was exiled to Elba in the Mediterranean.

¶ *Value of a slogan*

But this strong-minded man was not yet prepared to sit down under defeat. In less than a year he escaped, and was trumpeting to the French his promises of Liberty and Freedom—always an excellent slogan. He promised to renounce adventurous wars and to rule constitutionally. Such was his influence over the French mind, which was still smarting from defeats, that the public was once more prepared to support the skilful military adventurer. Napoleon raised an army from the exhausted country. This last rather miserable force was just defeated by the British and Prussians at the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Its leader was exiled to the little island of St. Helena, and remained there trying to live down a bad conscience, until he died in 1821.

The life and career of Napoleon in themselves provide the student of human nature with ample material for a treatise. The first lesson they emphasize is the practicability of the doctrines of Machiavelli, and the idea that what counts for most in the overcoming and governance of nations is brute force. Also that if you wish to rule men and to be supreme, you must keep them from thinking too much, or give them something unimportant to think about; you must provide them with something—religion will do very well—which will satisfy the spiritual side of their nature; and you must provide them with bread and circuses. It is also necessary to create the illusion of a possession of some

great ability or power in the leader, such as is not possessed by ordinary people, and it is necessary to do this *continuously* by means of propaganda.

¶ *Always deliver some goods*

It is also necessary at times to "deliver the goods." Much more may be promised than can possibly be delivered; for it is only those hostile in spirit who remember unfulfilled promises of a ruler or politician. He is forgiven many sins if he delivers something or other and takes care to work in the right atmosphere, which itself can often be created. Napoleon had amazing powers of organization and he laid the basis of all modern war propaganda; for which see pages 75 to 79 of Book I, to refresh the memory as to the meaning of propaganda in war time.

If we glance at a few of Napoleon's celebrated Maxims we shall obtain an inkling as to the reason for his success. He began by assuming that human nature does not change, that "man is ever the same." He says: "Chance is the providence of the adventurous. . . . He who fails is always wrong. . . . The heart of a minister should be only in his head. . . . Friendship is but a name. . . . Great ambition is the passion of a great character. . . . Let us obey circumstances, not fight them. . . . The secret of a legislator should be to take advantage of the errors of those whom he would govern. . . . Generals have to deal with the human frame, psychology does not matter. . . . Men are led by trifles. . . . The fate of a nation may depend upon the position of a fort. . . . One ought not to commit more atrocities than are necessary. . . . Police invent more than they detect. . . . A glutton will defend his dinner like a hero. . . ," and so forth.

¶ *Back to Roman materialism*

The Maxims of Napoleon bring us straight back to Roman materialism, and in many other respects also

we see that old spirit revived by the emperor. By rebuilding Paris, and providing classical arches with classical columns to make it look like ancient Rome, he put up something which all men could see and admire. With regard to the press, he created a department of state to supply the right kind of news to the papers; and editors had strict orders that they were to publish nothing disadvantageous or disagreeable. It is the same in all European countries which are today under a dictatorship.

Notwithstanding the faults of his code of laws, it substituted plain statements for legal flummery and mystery. Napoleon instilled into the French a love of glory—*la gloire*—a quality of human nature which has reached its most intense development in that nation. *La gloire* in essence means that if you have an enemy, you must kill him or render him helpless, so that you may lord it over him. If we add the essence of the philosophy of Napoleon to the "God is God, but Business is Business" idea we have in a nutshell the dominant features of national psychology in the greater part of the modern world.

¶ *Napoleon's influence*

Finally, if we are in a few words to sum up Napoleon's greatest contribution to human progress, we may say that it was toward the perfection of the science (or art, I never know which it is) of war: that is to say, he laid the foundations for really thorough-going slaughter, as we of a war generation understand it. After him we look, in time of war, for the organization of the entire resources of each nation. After him we regard as quite natural that modern spirit in which every able man must be prepared to throw his bomb and every woman to make it. Every female must now be prepared to make either clothes, poison gas, high explosives, ammunition, or other supplies for the males who are fight-

ing. Or she must lend her tender care in nursing them round when they are wounded and use her divine influence to send them back again so as to be targets for bullet and shell and shrapnel and flame-throwers, etc., etc., until such moment as they are stuck by a bayonet, blown to smithereens or rendered a burden to themselves, their friends, and their country. No man knew better than Napoleon the value of the propaganda weapon and no man before him ever knew how to use the raw materials of propaganda: lies, forgery, mystification, misrepresentation, organized hypocrisy, cant and rant, humbug and bunkum. This great cultural influence must henceforth be used with ever-increasing power and efficiency to hypnotize into a suitable state of hate, ferocity, and effectiveness the minds of the masses not already enslaved under conscription.

Henceforward nations must be made to work as teams. Henceforward there must always be ready in each country a "nucleus" of fighters trained and armed for the fray; or a navy ready to put to sea at any moment. A high type of scientific and engineering skill must be acquired in the use of armaments. Even religion must be mobilized in the interests of the state, which are invariably those of the Almighty. This was in itself rather a remarkable change to work in human nature, but one not altogether unexpected in view of the past. It shows that with the spread of humanitarianism and hypocrisy in the individual, there can be a grand-scale growth in collective savagery and cruelty. From the time of Napoleon, the hatred that had hitherto nearly always existed between individuals of one nation and those of another, was taken when necessary and molded into hatreds of nation by nation. After this period, in times of peace, Russians may as individuals get along very well with Germans. Individual

Frenchmen may be on quite friendly terms with Englishmen. And so forth. But band these people together in that abstract which we call a nation at war, and we find that a frightful monster has been created.

¶ *War and human nature*

To discuss the effects of modern war upon the development of human nature is a task which must be left to posterity. If we take the mere slaughter itself, the mind and heart recoil in dismay. The loss of life occasioned affords an excellent standard whereby to measure both human wickedness and human greatness. It shows to what extent desire to do evil or enthusiasm in support of a good cause may counterbalance the instinct of self-preservation. Then consider the wounded—and those who are not actually wounded but whose nature has undergone a complete change. Of eight thousand defenders left in Port Arthur at the time of its capitulation, for example, no less than two thousand were found to be suffering from neurasthenia; and there is no doubt that a certain proportion of them never fully recovered their normal capacity for work. But this is not all. Men who have been fighting for a long time become so accustomed to adventure that they find it difficult to readapt themselves to ordinary life. Richet says that we may estimate at approximately three million the number of French lives sacrificed for the gratification of the insensate pride of Napoleon. Fröhlich, who gives a detailed and reasoned statement, estimates the figure at 5,925,084. In the American Civil War the dead numbered not far short of a million men, and in the recent World War there were ten million dead, according to Westergaard; seven million killed and three million who perished by disease.*

* See *Losses of Life Caused by War*, by S. Dumas and K. O. Vedel-Peterson (1923).

¶ *Man a fighting animal*

There is no need to occupy space with statistics of all the wars of the last hundred years, not to mention all the wars since the very dawn of history, in order to convince the reader that human nature now accepts pugnacity as a part of itself which shows no signs of weakening. The world accepts war as inevitable; and makes its preparations accordingly. It is a disease of man for which no cure has been found. Treaties and pacts are signed from time to time to put off the evil day. Sooner or later it comes. Then we all of us go back to the jungle, and he or she who will not move with the herd must be prepared to be crushed or (if the herd so wishes) exterminated. The idealism of Napoleon was, like the idealism of Buddha or Jesus or the other Great Codifiers of Morality, by no means original. But in it he crystallized a host of hitherto vague moral ideas and transmitted them to us in a form easy of assimilation. The spiritual receptivity of the human soul has done the rest.

§ 7. THE AGE OF PROGRESS

NATIONS now begin to hate each other more thoroughly than ever; the boggy of the modern world has come into existence. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth that the work of Roger Bacon and his namesake Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, made its influence thoroughly felt on the intellectual development of mankind. The Renaissance had swept across the world a thirst for knowledge, and the French revolutionary thinkers made men concentrate upon the use of "pure reason."

¶ *External power—the modern factor*

At a time when the Terror had almost expended itself in France, the Englishman, James Watt, was improving his steam-engine. It was used for driving machinery, and the first engine so employed was installed in a mill at Nottingham. The first locomotive appeared in 1803, and in 1829 Stevenson's Rocket was put on rails between Liverpool and Manchester to race along at over twenty-four miles an hour. The printing press of the fifteenth century had shown how a machine could change human nature. But here was something different, with a power external to man behind it. Great *external power*—something extraneous: this was to be the new and terrible factor in forming our nature. From the moment of its discovery there began a quest for more and still more power, and this quest ever continues. Faraday's discovery of electro-magnetic rotation in 1821 added immeasurably to this external power, and the internal-combustion engine of the latter part of the nineteenth century went still further. A great era of mechanical invention began, and new machines appeared in every direction: machines which would eliminate the human factor almost entirely from the making of articles for trade.

¶ *The new code of ethics*

It is unnecessary to go into details of the application of electricity to the telegraph, to the telephone, and wireless. Nor is it necessary to mention the thousand and one advances in mechanical powers that took place during the nineteenth century. The prophecy of Aristotle that machines would abolish slavery showed signs of fulfilling itself. As it happened, slavery was being abolished for other sets of reasons. Now a new and equally unpleasant form of slavery showed itself. Men became slaves to machines. In England, France, Germany, and in the United States, factories sprang up on

all sides, but this industrial movement was quicker in England than elsewhere. New types of human beings were created. A new type of *Homo Sapiens* appeared: the man who used his money to employ large numbers of other men in the production of goods by machinery. These goods were eagerly bought by the rest of the world, and England began to be a moneyed nation, with a *new code of ethics springing from financial power*. Human power was being superseded everywhere by machine power, and the drudgery of human labor was not required so much. What was now needed was men with a little mechanical aptitude and a little intelligence who could be trusted to look diligently after the simple operations of the producing machinery. A slightly higher standard of intelligence and education was required of these machine-minders; but not too much, for that would be dangerous. The second half of the nineteenth century showed an extraordinary advance in the elementary education of the masses throughout the area of western civilization. The printing press, now with power behind it, the increase in wealth, and a general feeling that education was a good thing, caused working classes to thirst after what knowledge existed.

The characteristic of the industrial revolution that resulted from the mechanical revolution was in the creation of large masses of men who were driven into factories by the necessity for earning a living. Wage-slavery and machine-slavery took the place of the other old form, which was now in its last phase. Slums arose in the neighborhood of factories, mines, and workshops. Those men who, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, had received favors from Heaven in the form of wealth from slave-trading, and other profitable activities, now put their wealth at the disposal of the factory system, because it promised to create still more

wealth. Greed and cupidity increased enormously among the already rich. An English cotton manufacturer named Robert Owen saw the demoralization and degradation that was fast spreading among the workers in the factories. "Bad and unwise as American slavery was," he says, "the white slavery of the manufacturers of England was at this unrestrained period far worse than that of the slaves whom I afterwards saw in the West Indies and the United States; and in many respects as regards health, food, and clothing, the latter were much better provided for than the oppressed and degraded work people in the manufacturies of Great Britain."

¶ *Socialism appears*

There were with Robert Owen a number of other men who were interested in improving the condition of the workers, men who wanted social "uplift" for the wage-slaves, and a change in the system which created wage-slavery. This movement was the germ of modern Socialism, the force that ultimately emerged to combat extreme Capitalism, resulting from the causes already outlined: the Reformation, the wealth created by slave-trading, plunder, and conquest, the mechanical and industrial revolution. About this time, that is to say, in the eighteen thirties, the agitation of these new Socialists caused an inquiry to be made into the factory system. Its report states that, among other things, the manufacturers employed children, down to those of five years of age, for working days of fourteen to sixteen hours, exclusive of meals and intervals. Many of the manufacturers employed overseers to flog and ill-treat the infants with a view to speeding up their energy and output. In England there were many scenes similar to those previously common in America. A Scottish Presbyterian manufacturer on horseback chased a runaway bad boy sixteen years old, forcing him to return to his

work as fast as the horse trotted, while the good Presbyterian beat him soundly the whole way with a long whip.

Although wealth was pouring into Britain at that period the greed of the capitalists was merely being whetted. A higher output was required. That good old driving force of human nature—selfishness—into which we inquired in the first pages of this book, showed itself to be stronger than ever. The enlightenment and philosophic perceptions of a few godly employers were turned upon the important problem of how to increase output still further, and so a system of night shifts was invented: two sets of operatives were employed, each numerous enough to fill the whole mill; one set worked by day and the other by night. The nervous system of the working classes was steadily undermined by all this drive, for about *two-thirds* of the employees were young persons and children. In such circumstances as this the human being invariably has recourse to some form of psychological compensation. The Reformation had killed the Catholic Church (or almost killed it) in England, and the new religions were pale reflections of the old, and had few sensual attractions. Workers therefore began to find compensation in alcohol and vice.

With each new invention that came along, work became more and more simplified, and here and there with the installation of new devices large numbers of men were thrown into unemployment. To add still further to the complexities of the situation, the population of now unnecessary creatures steadily increased. Masses were toiling for wages representing bare subsistence, and at the same time the riches of capitalist manufacturers steadily increased. Land-owning aristocracy was replaced by capitalist aristocracy. Morals and manners based upon the sublime ownership of real property be-

gan to go, and the process which started in England spread itself throughout the world, in some countries more quickly than others. Everywhere the phenomena of the first phase were always the same: in each country those with wealth did their utmost to increase it by compelling the workers to labor for long hours at the lowest possible wages.

¶ *The wealth-is-power idea*

The internal history of all countries that have been affected by industrialism, that is to say, the principal countries of the world, is since that day a hateful struggle between employers and their work-people, and it is based purely, simply, upon the selfishness of both parties. The workers are selfish in wishing to live comfortably; the others are selfish in wishing to pile up wealth, for the sake of the material comforts it gives, and because of the power it provides them with over those who do not possess it. *Wealth is power* was the basis of the new ethic.

It was during the nineteenth century that French workers learned from the more sophisticated people in their own country the tricks of birth control. Their poverty was so great that to rear a large family was difficult or impossible. As a result, the population of France began to remain nearly stationary. The great doctrine of birth control was to begin its cultural work in earnest in the next century. It was also during this period that science was bought and, for the first time in history, "wedded" to industry. Some idea of the progress made in speeding up production by the end of the nineteenth century may be gathered from the results of American researches. For the manufacture of 10 plows, it was found that 2 hand workers, performing 11 distinct operations, took 1,180 hours and were paid \$54. By machine labor 52 workers, performing 97 operations, worked 37 hours and 28 minutes and re-

ceived \$7.90. In the manufacture of 100 sets of clock wheels by hand labor there were 14 workers, 453 operations, 341.8 hours, and the wages amounted to \$80.82. By machine labor: 10 workers, 1,088 operations, 8.34 hours, and wages \$1.80. The cash results were so satisfactory to manufacturers that the gospel of mass-production inevitably followed. If men were thrown out of work to starve or die—well, it was regrettable but, after all, "Business is Business." Cash-consciousness takes the place of conscience.

¶ *The new framework for human affairs*

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there was still a further development in the history of invention; the internal-combustion engine came on the market. The chief advantage of this over the steam engine is that it reduces weight enormously. It developed at last to such a pitch of lightness and efficiency as to bring flying within the bounds of practical achievement. There is no doubt but that the nineteenth century saw an entire change in the attitude of man toward the world and the universe. Hitherto he had lived close to the soil and was to all intents and purposes very little in advance of the Roman, the Greek, the Egyptian, or agricultural and pastoral man of prehistoric times. Wells has pointed out that "in a little more than a century this mechanical revolution has been brought about. In that time man has made a stride in the material conditions of his life, vaster than he had done during the whole long interval between the paleolithic stage and the age of cultivation, or between the days of Pepi in Egypt and those of George III. A new gigantic material framework for human affairs has come into existence."

We may add that the nineteenth century saw many lesser changes in the behavior of human beings toward one another; they reflect merely minor and superficial

changes in man's nature. It had been the custom, for example, for henpecked husbands in England to have their shrewish wives tamed. The women were bound in a chair at one end of a ducking stool and wheeled to a pond, into which they were plunged as many times as the crime seemed to warrant. The last martyr to this cruelty was a Mrs. Jenny Coram, who was immersed in 1809. In the United States of America there originated an ingenious system of arranging the political divisions of a state, so that the minority might get the advantage over the majority. Such an immoral practice could hardly exist today, one might think. An American friend, however, has informed me that the late Elbridge Gerry—the man who invented the ingenious political method—would turn in his grave with jealousy if he knew how far his brilliant idea was to be pushed by succeeding generations of his countrymen. A Yorkshireman of genius invented shoddy, a kind of soft woolen goods made from old rags and refuse. It could, by enlightened salesmanship, be sold as the real thing. There is now hardly a tailor's shop in the world where you will not find attempts made to pass it off as pure wool—not that there is anything morally wrong about this. Not at all.

¶ *Prohibition in the United States*

The American prohibition movement began early in the nineteenth century. One hundred years later the Volstead Act was passed in the interests of morals and—business efficiency! Twelve years after that (according to anti-prohibition statisticians) there was more drunkenness and abuse of alcohol in the United States than at any period of its history. According to prohibitionists it is a success. They both can't be right, so one party or the other is lying steadily about it. It was during the nineteenth century about ten years after the Napoleonic wars that the Royal Society for the Prevention

of Cruelty to Animals had to be instituted to restrain men from the ill-treatment of dumb creatures. In the year 1928 the society was responsible for innumerable prosecutions of men and women who had been cruel to animals. Since then all sorts of societies have sprung up to restrain human beings from their natural cruelties: cats' protection societies, the dickie birds' societies, culminating in a Tail Wagger's Club for dogs.

¶ *Capital punishment of animals*

Even in matters of religion and law this humanitarian movement showed itself, for during the nineteenth century the criminal prosecution and capital punishment of animals fell into a decline and, I believe, was completely abolished in that enlightened period. At all events I find that only a few locusts in Catalonia, a cock at Leeds, a wolf at Calabria, and one dog in Switzerland suffered malediction, excommunication, or the penalty of death. This is in remarkable contrast to preceding centuries, when moles, serpents, field-mice, caterpillars, flies (house and horse varieties), eels, pigs, bulls, cockchafers, rats, buck and nanny goats, weevils, vermin, grasshoppers, snails, sheep, mules, dolphins, gadflies, horses and mares, dogs and bitches, turtledoves, termites, and worms were solemnly tried by courts and had dire punishments inflicted for their crimes and misdemeanors by the authority of the intellectual and spiritual leaders of men. A he-goat was banished to Siberia by the Russian Church, for a heinous crime which had better remain unmentioned. In 1906 a dog which was with a murderer during a murder at Délémont was condemned to death, because it was found to be the chief culprit; the man was sentenced to life imprisonment. This seems to be the last recorded case of the kind.* During the nineteenth cen-

* See E. P. Evans, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* (1916).

ture the feeling among Christian nations that Jews were on a par with beasts also suffered a transformation, though there were a few reactions to this in the form of pogroms, when thousands of Jews were murdered by Christians for still being Jews.

† *Our debt to the Rev. Forsyth and Col. Shrapnel*

The inventiveness of man during this period was not entirely limited to machines for industry and commerce. The Rev. Alexander John Forsyth, one of the Lord's anointed, minister of the parish of Belhelvie in Aberdeenshire, patented the first percussion gun in 1807. The military and other authorities invited him to London, to show what his device could do. The experiments were entirely successful, but the poor minister was told to pick up his rubbish and get out. The French offered him £200,000 for his invention, but the patriot refused. Wellington would not touch it; and thirty-three years elapsed before English military minds realized that it could be useful to them for manslaughter in war. Posterity has recognized the debt owed to the great and holy Forsyth; one is pleased to see that on January 30, 1930, a tablet to his memory was unveiled in the capital of England.* To the great cultural benefits conferred upon us by Forsyth may be added those resulting from the work of a man of genius who made a breech-loading rifle in 1836 in which the charge could be ignited by a fine steel rod being pressed into the cartridge. Henceforward, one well-trained soldier could kill thirty of his opponents where his predecessors would be preparing to reload their guns. But these were trifles compared with that most ingenious invention, the shrapnel shell. Colonel Henry Shrapnel (who died in 1842, God rest his soul) brought his fine mind to bear upon the interesting problem of how to make a shell explode shortly *before* it hits the enemy. He

* *Daily Sketch*, January 30, 1930.

was very successful in finding a solution. Later developments of the art of war have shown us how really excellent a thing shrapnel is for blowing human beings to smithereens. Surely the nineteenth century was one of solid progress.

¶ *Victorian idyls*

Now nearly everybody was semi-educated, which was better than not being educated. In Protestant countries everybody settled down to the fixed idea that the advances in science and material wealth meant that God had definitely taken their side against the ignorant Catholics. Human nature became sure of itself, certain that all problems spiritual had long ago been solved, and that the material ones were panning out very satisfactorily. And with all this the world had not yet lost its pleasing old simplicity; its old politeness; or its old credulity. Did not Miss Mackay see a mermaid in 1809? And did not the Rev. Dr. Phillip write in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July, 1822: "I have to-day seen a mermaid, now exhibiting in this Town. The head is almost the size of that of a baboon. . . . The ears, nose, lips, chin, breasts, nipples, fingers, and nails, resemble those of a human figure. The appearance of the teeth affords sufficient evidence that it is full-grown. The canine teeth resemble those of a full-grown dog; all the others resembling those of a human subject. . . . The resemblance to the human species ceases immediately under the mammæ . . . below the vertex of the head it resembles a large fish of the salmon species." The smugness, credulity and the greed of that age were such that one bold fellow offered to let the world into a discovery of his which would no doubt have made many fortunes. An advertisement appeared offering the secret of perpetual motion for the sum of £300,000. Happily, investigation showed that there was nothing in it. This was the romantic age of Joanna Southcott, who ushered

in the Millennium, offered to chain down the Devil for a thousand years and to save the faithful (exactly 144,000 all told) ; she was *the Bride, the Lamb's wife, the woman clothed with the sun*, she said. She announced that at the age of sixty-four she would bear a son, the second Messiah. Thousands believed her. On nearing that age she shut herself up and when, on the testimony of women and doctors, she was found to be pregnant with a living child, the doubters began to look solemnly at each other. She showed all the symptoms of gestation. Money was raised for this most important accouchement. The crib alone cost £200 and the silver cup was got ready with the words *Hail, Messiah, Prince of Salem!* At last when the normal period had elapsed she fell into the conventional pains and movements which precede the delivery of a new human being. But no child came. Joanna died. A post-mortem examination showed she had suffered only from an excess of gas.*

Across the Atlantic Joseph Smith in 1827 took from Mohammed a selection of the sexual doctrines that most struck his fancy and, adding them to a selection of good Christian tenets, produced the great "Book of Mormon" which, investigators have since discovered, may have been a work written by a clergyman fifteen years before, and merely stolen by Smith. (The origin of religion is always wrapt in mystery.) The Mormons preached and practiced multiple marriage until the year 1882, when there was an outbreak of jealousy amongst leaders and members of other sects, resulting in 1890 in the suppression of polygamy by law. But after that date divorce facilities began to increase, until now one can change a wife or husband almost at will and thus preserve the sanctity of the marriage institution.

* See *Sober Truth, a collection of nineteenth century episodes, Fantastic, Grotesque and Mysterious*, Margaret Barton and Osbert Sitwell (1930).

A number of persons professing a devotion to innocent recreation and spiritual knowledge formed themselves into a religious group in England under the leadership of Mr. Henry James Prince. They formed the sect known as Agapemonites (Greek for "Abode of Love"). The idea caught on, and seemed likely to flourish until there was rather a scandal in the affairs of the sect, which caused it to vanish from outward and visible existence in 1908. The last century is remarkable for the number of new sects that sprang up everywhere. There was a yearning after novelty in spiritual as well as in sexual matters. A list of the new sects which appeared in the nineteenth century would fill a page of this book. But we should not overlook that small group of holy people who in 1838 decided that they would believe literally the words of the New Testament, including the explicit instructions given in James V, 14, regarding the healing of the sick by faith. These people were regarded as harmless lunatics. Several were tried and sentenced to prison for believing that what the New Testament said was true. They have since been known as the "Peculiar People"; and the modern humanitarian attitude toward them is one of ironical pity.

¶ *The century of ISMS and OLOGIES*

Against religious eccentricities there arose a characteristic growth of the nineteenth century: Secularism, under the leadership of Holyoake in England and of Ingersoll in America. The teachings of the Secularists were a rehash of those of Voltaire and they provided many vigorous germs to help in the decay of religion in England; their effect in America has so far not been great. This nineteenth century is the century of ISMS: Socialism, Secularism, Vegetarianism, Utilitarianism, Spiritualism, Fenianism, Salvationism, Nihilism, Estheticism, Fabianism, Liberalism, Radicalism, Capi-

talism, Communism, Mesmerism; and a host of others, not to mention another host, almost as great, of OLOGIES. The two ISMS of foremost importance to the subsequent trend of events were Socialism and Industrialism.

† *Socialism*

There are as many definitions of Socialism as there are disciples. George Bernard Shaw, for instance, bases his present Socialism upon equality of income. He says, in effect, "Let all men and women have the same income and all our troubles will vanish." There was a time when Socialism was a force to be reckoned with as a revolutionary one, but it seems to have passed. All western civilization seems to have taken the Socialistic ideas most consistent with the preservation of wealth and industrialism in its present form, and used them in the education of masses for machine-minding or other productive work. A European Socialist is now very often a hypocritical capitalist, to all intents and purposes. Of all the brands of Socialism which came into existence during the nineteenth century, none was to have so much influence as that of the German, Karl Marx, whose terrible book became the bible of modern Communists. His slogan was, "Workers of the world, unite!"—that is, against Capitalism. Marx's book "Capital" was largely responsible for the growth of international thought amongst workers in different countries during this period. There was an exchange of the thought representing the interests of wage-slaves. Such a thing had never before taken place. It was to result in Bolshevik Russia in the twentieth century, one of the most powerful and, so far as one can judge, one of the most far-reaching movements in history.

We see in the nineteenth century the triumph of nationality. It was now that the nations of Europe, following the example of France, developed their nationalism to a great intensity. Meanwhile the two most

momentous events of modern times took place. The expansion of England into the British Empire, and the strengthening of the Union in America after the Civil War of 1861 to 1865. For the results of the latter we have—the modern United States; and the words United States are the modern equivalent for supreme efficiency in business and finance. Here a new idealism came into being, based upon wealth. The word “Success” took on a new meaning. The most successful man is he who collects the largest quantity of worldly wealth; the most successful nation is that which has most gold. Land is no longer of so much importance; its place has been taken by machine-made wealth. With this idealism having wealth as its goal there grew a strong quasi-religious sentimentalism, which is its psychological compensation. This sentimentalism showed itself in a thousand welfare schemes and movements of a highly humanitarian and genuinely beneficial nature. The standard of comfort of the ordinary human being, as a result of the search for wealth with its parallel creed of humane sentimentalism, stands higher in the United States of America than in any other country in the whole of human history. The Americans, after the Phenicians, have contributed most toward raising the standard of living of the human being.

¶ *Man decides that he is a kind of ape*

I will conclude this section of the history of human nature by mentioning only three further notable and characteristic achievements of the nineteenth century, where one could mention a thousand. The first of these was the publication of Charles Darwin's “Origin of Species” in 1859, the book which stated a theory of human development by natural selection—that is, by the strong overcoming the weak and the subsequent “survival of the fittest.” Another idea propounded by Darwin was to the effect that man is related to the

great apes, and for some reason which cannot now be explained this was regarded by his contemporaries as highly ingenious and original. The second of these three achievements of the nineteenth century was the proclamation in 1870 of the infallibility of the pope in matters of faith and morals, a matter which had long been in abeyance and doubt, but was thus settled forever. The third was a mechanical invention of the great English executioner, Mr. Marwood, for the more efficient hanging of criminals. It is rather surprising and pitiful that it came so late, for in his time there were only a few crimes involving the death penalty, as against the 150 of half a century earlier. Mr. Marwood proved himself to be a master of the hangman's great art. He it was who introduced the humanitarian long drop, which, he claimed, instead of asphyxiating his clients, simply broke their necks. This method is still used in England, though nobody knows if it lives up to the claims made for it, because the new hypocrisy insists upon secret executions. The great inventor was fond of saying of his predecessor in regard to the state-killing of undesirables, "Whereas he *hanged* them, I *execute* them." Those words succinctly and metaphorically express the progress of the century in every direction. Perhaps I should also mention that the science of official killing was not without advances in other countries for, a few years after the establishment in Boston, Massachusetts, of the first branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the state of New York, taking advantage of a means to popularize electric power, decided to kill its criminals by electrocution.

What with war, invention, industrialism, the abolition of the bad old slavery and its substitution by wage-slavery, the ISMS and OLOGIES of later years, the inculcation of white culture into black races during the scramble for Africa, and the transformation of man the

agriculturist into man the machine-minder over an important part of the globe, there was a great change in human nature in this period. It all pointed in one direction: the superficial standardization of human nature, much of which may be directly attributable to the influence of the machine, which already seemed to take a grip on the souls of men and women in most parts of the western world.

BOOK V

HUMAN NATURE IN WESTERN
CIVILIZATION TODAY AND TO-
MORROW

§ 1. ETERNAL FRAILTIES OF HUMAN NATURE

HUMAN nature has as many varieties and shades as there are men and women. Nevertheless, there are such things as trends and tendencies, and one must somehow grapple with them. Clearly the nineteenth century was the one which contained the greatest possibilities for change in the world, for had there not been two great revolutions?—the industrial and the mechanical? It was yet a little early for the machine to have any great standardizing effects; but the germs were there, and already in the first days of the twentieth century the disease had begun to show itself on all sides. The invention of the linotype printing machine gave an immediate impetus to newspaper production; and men of genius—the late Lord Northcliffe, for example—were not slow to take advantage of it. Elementary education acts in England and their equivalent in other parts of the world were producing a more enlightened person—one who could read news items and simply written articles on matters that were not too intellectual: politics, crime, sport, sex, and so forth. The circulation of newspapers, books, novelettes, and periodicals for these new readers increased enormously. Writers were wanted who could write almost to a formula. So began the widespread provision of a standardized mental pabulum. Great news agencies collected news to fit the formula, and the resultant concoction was telegraphed to strings of newspapers in all parts of the world. Wireless telegraphy, which appeared a little later, and broadcasting, its latest phase, have added to a standardizing process; while the cinematograph added to it still further.

In the United States there was an astounding material growth during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The sea-machine (in the form of ships that could carry many times as many passengers as the old ones and at a far greater speed) assisted another—and the last—of those great nomadic movements of humanity which regularly occur in history. Once again nomad man appears; and there is a new canalization. Hundreds of thousands of people cross the Atlantic to found a new country and be born again. The abolition of slavery, the sublimation of a number of French ideas (which came from the Age of Reason) and the continuation of strong puritanical ideas among the English who had early settled in America, as well as the hard struggle of pioneering days, were producing a new type of human being: the American citizen. Racially he might be of any origin. But in the new atmosphere, which differed entirely from the old one (it was a harsh, crude atmosphere), he abandoned old ideas and wholeheartedly agreed with and adopted those of the land in which he had settled. Those who did not conform paid the usual penalty in such cases: they were eliminated. Those best fitted survived, and only those survived who were inspired by the ideal of achieving success in the new surroundings. It was during that period of settlement and tremendous struggle for existence that the grand American ideal of SUCCESS arose. It was to be the godhead of a new Trinity: SUCCESS, PROSPERITY, OPTIMISM.

¶ *Freud discovers the unconscious "cesspool"*

The beginning of the twentieth century was the end of that very compact and clean-cut phase of English history which we call Victorianism. After it comes a period in which solidity begins to disappear from the old ideas, and the old morality, both of which were replaced by new and nebulous ones. It is a period of So-

cialistic growth; of experiment; and of inquiry. Human nature began to be the subject of intense investigation, and many weird facts were unearthed concerning it. Sigmund Freud, for example, was pursuing investigations into human psychology which were to culminate in an epoch-marking book, "The Interpretation of Dreams." It was first received by European publics with something akin to horror; but in a decade it had changed the ideas of educationists and psychiatrists in all parts of the world. Freud proved beyond reasonable doubt that the hidden part of the human mind is little better than a cesspool—a thing which had been suspected by many unscientific people before him. Advances in the "new" psychology together with the World War were to produce a sort of reaction against the pseudo-puritanism of Victorian England, and against the similar hypocrisy of the American public. In its place a new form of hypocrisy appeared: the pseudo-scientific. There appeared, and still are, great legions of "students" of eroticism and sexual matters. The older generation regarded all this new psychology with fear and detestation because of its implications that they are really very low creatures after all. The new generation regards it as something naughty; and intensely interesting. Hence, scraps of it appear in the literature of all modern countries; and the unconscious has proved itself to be a gold mine for writers as well as a cesspool for everybody.

During the period of investigation into human nature which followed Darwin's two masterpieces, the information collected from all sorts of sources proved the variegation of humanity and what a really queer creature man often, and generally, is. The facts also indicated that there can be such a thing as a great cultural change in human nature, though not a great biological one. Information appeared regarding the origin and

development of the religious spirit; and in regard to the origin and growth of religious symbols. In the quest after this information, men of science have provided us with veritable encyclopedias of the vagaries of mankind. The works of Frazer and Westermarck alone prove that there is no limit to man's simplicity, credulity, absurdity, and caprice.

¶ *A few vagaries of human nature*

We read of such occurrences as men worshipping turkey buzzards; of using a rabbit to stop rain or to retard the movement of the sun. We read of the Ajumba hunter who abjectly apologizes to the hippopotamus he has killed; and of people guilty of a crime coolly transferring it to a goat. In modern times, that is to say, in the time of our great-great-grandfathers, an anthropoid ape is arrested in England on suspicion; it is court-martialed as a foreign spy and, I believe, duly executed. We read of men whose religion is the worship of each other; and of others who set nets to catch escaped souls. We discover Brazilian Indians who devour the hearts of courageous foes in order to acquire some of their bravery. Of people who solemnly debate how best to embark upon a campaign for an amelioration in the character of their gods. Of others who decide that an elongated head is an indication of beauty, and who therefore spend their whole lives in a process of elongating it artificially. And of another part of the world where women one year believe that big hats are beautiful; and the next believe that they are ugly. Of one race which believes that long hair in men or the wearing of soft black hats is a clear indication of unspeakable habits. We read of human souls being stored in bottles and boxes; and of a tribe which practices sham burials in order to deceive Satan. Another race transfers its sin to weeds; another disposes of wrong by eating it; another eats a mixture of cooked flour and

water believing that it will cure sin. We find that the aborigines of Australia had an excellent method for controlling the movements of the sun; and that certain Arabs preserve their nail-parings for a religious purpose; and that another race drinks fermented grape-juice to cleanse the spirit. One people finds that fever can always be transferred to a bald-headed widow; another can tie the soul in a bandage, and so prevent it from running away. We read of childless women who crawl into holes in a certain rock, which possesses the magical property of impregnating them during the night; of a people who believe in the beneficial properties and virtue of mutual vituperation; of others who once a year expel all the evil of their tribe by means of a ritual. We read of a man who, two thousand years or so after the disappearance of the tribes of Israel, discovers them in the Middle West of America. And of a race in which the wife's adultery is supposed to bring bad luck upon her absent husband; of another in which sexual crimes disturb the whole course of nature; of another that uses an instrument which creates a big noise to make them courageous; of another which believes that by emitting groans they induce piety. Another race arranges for its priests to fertilize their women by a religious ceremony, which is only effective when the priests are in full health and strength. We discover that for a long time Alaskan Islanders mistook Russians for cuttlefish. There is one race among whom the eating of almonds will cause virgins to conceive; another in which continence is practiced to improve crops; another in which only whores may serve God; another that regards all their ancestors as mischievous beings; another that speaks with bated breath and the highest respect of all wild animals; another that religiously preserves the tribal prepuces; and another in which the men decorate their codpieces, to draw

public attention to them. This race uses an iron chain to promote the growth of beards; that one soundly flogs girls the moment they attain the age of puberty; the other one transfers ill-feeling to a banana. One race respects the ghosts of men, but wages war against the ghosts of women; and another takes the chief's soul and bottles it the moment he dies. One race believes that fornication is bad for prosperity; another believes that it is good, but not for the crops. One race believes that reading will cause wind; another that the moon can be persuaded to impregnate barren females; and another forms a brotherhood with trees by sucking their sap. On one side of the world there is a race which believes that the poisonous juice of a certain fruit is bad for themselves and forbids its use, but that it is an excellent thing for another race at the other side of the earth. In this race the kings become boa-constrictors after death; that one uses the bandicoot for rain-making. A race in one part of the world has no word for chastity and cannot understand what it can mean; another race knows what it means but regards it as something evil, to be avoided if possible. One race considers it bad luck for parents to have children resembling themselves; another that fatigue can be transferred to sticks and stones. In one part of the world a tree is married to a mango; another whole nation worships gnats. Some races there are who believe that by imitating the grunts of a wild boar they will prevent sore feet; others that by crawling under a bramble they can cure boils; others that a brass ring worn on the finger will cure pains in the hip-joints. One race chooses its kings only from amongst the best singers; another has an admirable method for supplying an internally diseased man with a new set of bowels. In one tribe there are people who acquire wisdom by eating the brains of the dead; in another corpulency is regarded as a mark of aristocratic

birth; and in another it is looked upon as a sign of vulgarity. A priest of this race declares that pointed toes are an offense to the god of the tribe; a priest of that race provides eternal punishment for women who wear their hair short or who expose their knees.

The list could be extended indefinitely, for the libraries of the world are packed with records of human vagaries, absurdities, and stupidities. No race or individual is free from them, now or at any other time in history. The astounding feature of all this is that they exist and persist in the midst of civilization. There are so many of them around us that one can only conclude that man will never become really standardized, in spite of machines. We smile when we read of the simplicities of savage and barbarous races. But are not the practices, customs, and beliefs prevalent among the most enlightened races on a par with the vagaries of human nature recorded by the anthropologists? If we merely follow our daily newspapers carefully, we shall find every-day occurrences far stranger than those to be found amongst primitive or half-developed peoples. I have beside me a popular monthly magazine containing advertisements for methods to produce beautiful eyes, perfect noses, methods to make thick lips thin, to banish corpulency, thinness, bad complexion, or protruding ears; methods to reshape the body or to achieve popularity or sex-appeal, or fascination or charm. Patent medicine charlatanism is *vieux jeu*.

¶ *Modern hoaxes*

Hoaxes occur on all sides, commercial and financial hoaxes; scientific and religious hoaxes; and a host of others. A man called Stephane Otto in recent years posed as Lord Ashdown, the vicomte de Beney, the comte d'Artagnan de Sabrol, the comte de Horn, Baron Tiergney and as Prince Charles of Belgium. This versatile fellow included in his repertoire King Leopold

II and Maeterlinck's son; he could become at short notice the nephew of Cardinal Mercier or of Mr. Andrew Mellon, the American statesman. When the American army was at Coblenz * he arrived as "Baron Tiergney"—sent by the king of the Belgians to "confer the Order of Merit upon the American Commander." He was received with all the respect and deference due to so important a personage. Next morning the American troops were paraded, and the "baron" decorated (with faked medals) the commander and many members of his staff. The general issued an order of the day calling attention to the signal royal favor they had all received; and Otto was entertained at a magnificent banquet. The following day he left, to a salute of artillery, and with several temporary "loans" which none of the good-natured soldiers had dared to refuse to so noble and august an aristocrat. King Albert received a hearty letter of thanks from the American general in command; and only then was the cat let out of the bag. Later, when Otto visited Buckingham Palace, in a neat equipage, to demand an audience with the duke of York, he was caught out; and went to prison for three months as a consequence.

¶ *Intellectual hoaxes*

A few years ago an "intellectual" hoax was perpetrated on the professors of a great English university. A small, dignified, bespectacled and heavily bearded man turned up (after having previously made arrangements for his visit) saying he was "Dr. Emil Busch, the celebrated German psychologist." He was received with open arms at the university; and arrangements were made for him to deliver a lecture to the representatives of higher English culture. The lecture consisted of utter nonsense from beginning to end, but it was couched in the high-falutin terms of philosophy,

* The incident was fully reported in the press at the time.

psychology, and modern science. Everybody was taken in, and a vote of thanks passed for Dr. Busch. It was not until afterwards that it was found to be a complete and perfect hoax. There is in Paris at this moment (unless he has died since the words were written) a man who has persuaded many people that he can arrest the process of organic decay by merely touching the object which it is desired to preserve. A mutton chop, a dead swallow, a slice of calf's liver, and a fish showed no signs of putrefaction after an experiment. His method is to put all microbes out of action by directing against them "a magnetic fluid which throws them into a trance." The commercial possibilities of this power are endless, and the man is only waiting for an enterprising financier to assist him in founding a business. The pity of it is that he resides in France, where the people are a race of utter skeptics.

¶ *The case of Dempsey's sweater*

In December, 1928, when Jack Dempsey's sweater was exhibited in a shop window in Glasgow, hard-headed Scotsmen and soft-hearted Scotswomen collected to gaze upon it in rapturous admiration. The news that it was there spread like wildfire throughout the city. From Clydebank and the suburbs, hosts of people flocked to the window. That each person of the populace might have a fair chance of seeing this great sight, the police force of Glasgow came into action. Special constables swarmed about the shop, regulating the queues of sightseers and keeping the crowds in order. I have since heard a whisper that the sweater was in no way different from any other; and I have no reason to doubt that it did at some time or other form part of the wardrobe of the famous boxer. But I mention the incident to illustrate the mind of a modern people; and the effect which even a garment may have upon it by association of ideas. Then there is the case

of Adrienne Guyot, the Mons heroine who, between the ages of fifteen and forty, became engaged every fortnight and so captured a new husband on each occasion. At the age of forty she had had fifty-two sweethearts and fifty husbands. By mere accident during her last wedding one of her previous husbands came upon the scene, with the result that Adrienne was put in a Brussels prison to recuperate. The husbands were well-to-do men of a good standard of education and morals. But they were completely taken in by the adventuress. Apparently they made no inquiries, but took Adrienne on her face value, which was good. Man is still, as he always has been, gullible in so far as women are concerned.

¶ *Modern witchcraft*

Modern witchcraft trials in America provide a striking example of the credulity and gullibility existing among large numbers of people. In York County, Pennsylvania, and its vicinity, it was disclosed in 1928 that witchcraft and "pow-wow" necromancy rites are prevalent amongst at least 150,000 people. The facts were made public in consequence of investigations by the police in the murder of Nelson Rehmeyer. A farmer named John Blymer was accused and found guilty of the crime. Under cross-examination Blymer said that Rehmeyer had put a spell (a "hex") on him which was causing insomnia, debility, and a lack of desire for work. The following extract is from a report of the trial:

Counsel. Was the spell broken when Rehmeyer was killed?

Blymer. Yes. Because he was buried six feet underground, with his hair.

Counsel. Are you all right now?

Blymer. Yes, I can eat and sleep now I am unhexed.

Counsel. Then you were justified in killing Rehmeyer?

Blymer. Yes, sir.

Counsel. If the judge put a spell on you, would you kill him if necessary?

Blymer. Yes, sir.

Counsel. If the district attorney had you hexed, would you kill him if you couldn't break the spell any other way?

Blymer. Yes, sir.

There is scarcely a country in the world in which gross superstition and witchcraft in some form or other do not exist today. We have it on the authority of Mr. William H. Paynter (recorder to Callington Old Cornwall Society) that in his part of England there are still the strangest of beliefs among the people. For example one must: "Never cut a baby's nails for the first few months after its birth; they must be bitten short by the teeth, otherwise the baby will grow up to be a thief and rogue. An empty cradle should never be rocked, for this leads to an overlarge family. The right hand of a baby should never be washed until the child is a year old; to clean it would deprive the baby of riches." According to an ancient Cornish dame who is well versed in witchcraft, possessors of the evil eye can be recognized by having a double pupil or a pupil that contains the figure of some animal, usually a horse. They have lean bodies and melancholy temperaments; or squints, hollow eyes, hook noses, broad overhanging eyebrows; while there is stated to be a strange glare in the eye of a person who can "overlook," and the eyelids are always red. I have excellent authority for a superstition which is still common among London working classes: that birthmarks on children can be most satisfactorily removed by the mother's licking them off. I know of a case in which a mother licked the

neck of her child with such good effect that a mark entirely disappeared. In the highest branches of civilized European society amulets are still often worn as charms to keep away evil.

¶ *An encyclopedia of frauds*

Superstition takes so many forms that it is not possible always to say where it begins and where it ends. It would perhaps be unfair to refer to the activities of modern spiritualists as sheer fraud, since spiritualism is too great a subject to be dismissed here in a few lines. I can only direct the attention of the reader to a huge catalogue of works on the subject recently compiled by the director of the English National Laboratory of Psychical Research. In this a hundred and forty subjects of "mystery" are catalogued—among them spiritualism, occultism, poltergeists, hauntings, levitation, ecstasy, black magic, fire-walking, vampirism, water-spouters, vaudeville telepathy, human ostriches, Indian rope trick, magical secrets of the Greek temples, sword swallows, magnetic ladies, and Chinese magic. The director says: "To those cast-iron bigots who believe that every medium is white and every 'phenomenon' genuine, this catalogue will make little appeal. But those students of the occult with a mind of a more elastic fiber who wear their convictions lightly will find a vast number of interesting works on impostors of all ages, including many modern charlatans who lay claim to psychic gifts. But if the reader perseveres in his search he will also find records of phenomena which will stand scientific scrutiny and are inexplicable in our present state of ignorance. Because modern spiritualism is riddled through and through with charlatanism, fraud, and self-deception, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that abnormal phenomena do occur through a few gifted persons or even spontaneously."

Telepathy and thought transference for vaudeville

use are very ancient, it seems. "Those who think that the Davenports may have had some psychic power need only glance at the collection of their showbills to have this illusion dispelled, apart from the fact that one of the brothers confessed." But the late Harry Houdini was convinced that a "spirit extra" of the late James Hyslop was a genuine one. Technical works dealing with finger-prints, ambidexterity and "what can be done with the mouth," are included in the library, and a series of packs of marked playing cards used by gamblers. This fine catalogue is a general guide to fraud, ancient and modern. The temptations for fraud in spiritualism are indeed endless. Respectable and worthy people, of undoubtable honesty, integrity, and the highest reputation, fall under the attraction of such practices. They may perhaps begin by doubting, a phase which is followed by one of investigation. Interest grows to a point where they become convinced, on the one side or the other; but there is every likelihood that the period of study and investigation will prove to be a slow, hypnotizing process even to people who are not credulous. A "will to believe" is created in them and, from that point, *anything*, however stupid and ridiculous it may appear to others, becomes to them convincing evidence. I have already quoted the astounding effects of self-hypnosis in the case of Joanna Southcott. The case of many spiritualists is obviously of the same nature, except that the physical phenomena are slightly different.

The number of facts and anecdotes which could be produced to illustrate the credulity of contemporary human beings is almost endless; and this in itself is utilized by politicians and commercial advertisers in their campaigns. The difference between human nature of today and human nature of a few hundred or a thousand years ago is in this respect almost negligible.

In politics and advertising indirect methods of suggestion, based upon the fundamental instincts and emotions of men and women, have often taken the place of frank and direct suggestion; although even this is not yet by any means a negligible method. Suggestion founded upon a credulous receptivity of the victim does not always depend upon an appeal to selfishness or greed; in many cases undoubtedly it is so.

¶ *"Brides in the Bath" Smith*

What could be better than the method practiced by the Englishman, George Joseph Smith (of "Brides in the Bath" renown) upon those with whom he happened to be traveling? In order to make money this astute man cunningly selected race-trains in which to find his victims. One may assume that the passengers who travel by race-trains would mostly consist of those who attach immense importance to sheer chance and luck as factors in the making of a fortune. When Smith found himself in the right company—he was a keen psychologist—he would remark upon the presence of flies. Then he would produce a few half-crowns and invite the race-goers to produce a similar number. The owner of the coin upon which a fly first settled was to pocket the lot. Smith always came out of these adventures a richer and a happier man because he had previously taken the precaution to soak his coins all night in an alluring mixture of stout and sugar. The same principles are behind much business success in the modern world.

¶ *Modern vitamins and ancient magic*

"The process involved in the growth of magic," says Elliot Smith, "can be witnessed in operation at the present time. As instances we might refer to two vastly important biological discoveries that have been made in our own generation. The recognition of the fact that, in addition to the substance in our food required for

building up of the physical structure of our bodies, it must also contain certain accessory food substances now called vitamins, if the nutriment is to maintain the healthy growth and vital efficiency. The recognition of this tremendously important fact has let loose upon the world a vast campaign for exploitation of the imaginary virtues of the many substances and physical devices—such, for example, as one little fragment of the light spectrum—which are as devoid of reasonable justification as the elixirs of life and the witches' caldrons of the Middle Ages. Not only do these false claims find expression in commercial enterprises involving hundreds of millions of pounds, but also in the activities of many serious scientific investigators, who in their enthusiasm to obtain results make use of utterly misleading or worthless tests. Here, then, is an instance of one of the most important scientific discoveries being perverted to become 'magic' and 'superstition,' and as such immune to reasonable criticism." *

¶ *Our obsessions*

There is no need for me here to enter into details regarding the obsessions and delusions from which thousands of people suffer. Many of them are so typical that they have been classified and are to be found in every textbook dealing with neurosis. There is scarcely a human being who has not an obsession of some sort, occasionally developed to the stage when it can be regarded only as a disease. There are people who dread open spaces and others in whom confinement in a closed space produces a sort of helpless lunacy. There are others who fear being in high places; and others who dislike low-lying places. There are obsessions for drink; and for drugs, including tobacco. There are people who have a mania for collecting things; and others who desire to count everything. There is a fairly common fear

* *Human History.*

of the color of red (which modern psychologists declare to be an indication of self-reproach or shame of some kind). And there is amongst literary men the common unconscious impulse to repeat themselves. Such things are of the very warp and woof of human nature in every country at every period. The World War has intensified them and made them, with insanity generally, increasingly common among us.

¶ *Eccentricities of genius*

Eccentricities and abnormalities are by no means confined to half-wits or simpletons. Indeed it is among men of genius that we find them exemplified in the highest degree. Respect for the law of libel prevents me from mentioning what I know on the best of authority to be the strange behavior at times of many of our contemporary men of genius. But we know that Dostoyevski's behavior and manner of life was such that, had he not been recognized as a man of genius, he might have been put away in an asylum for the insane. His powerful imagination would sometimes create for him a great fear of nothing which he could define; and then his days and nights were spent in misery. Michael Angelo suffered from a mad and melancholy humor; Benvenuto Cellini was affected by hallucinations; and Beethoven undoubtedly bordered upon insanity. Schumann had suicidal impulses, and Donizetti a sort of moral insensibility—his was a Jekyll and Hyde personality. According to one biographer, Lord Byron was tortured by hallucinations; though one doubts this. Charles Lamb was confined for six weeks in a madhouse during the period in which he wrote most of his sonnets. William Blake, Jonathan Swift, and the poets Cowper and Southey were all not merely unbalanced but suffering from definite brain disease; and everybody knows of the neurosis with which Edgar Allan Poe was afflicted. Napoleon suffered from that morbid

excitability of the motor centers which is characteristic of insanity; Wellington and Peter the Great of Russia both had epileptic fits. Charles V, one of the greatest kings living in the sixteenth century, was born of insane parents; was scrofulous and melancholic. His stammering was so bad that it was with great difficulty he could make himself understood at all. That great genius Cardinal Richelieu was also an epileptic; Moreau reports that on one occasion the cardinal was so mentally disturbed that he believed himself to be a horse and galloped about, neighing and jumping. The English statesman Pitt the Elder was a victim of both gout and true mental aberration. Newton confessed, in regard to a very odd letter he had written (one which would nowadays justify his friends in having him examined by an alienist), that he had done it under the influence of a "distemper" that seized his head and kept him awake for five nights together. The German philosopher Kant became a complete imbecile in his old age. Descartes was convinced that he was followed about by an invisible being who begged him for the sake of humanity to continue his researches. Auguste Comte, the French philosopher, was locked up for two years, a raving lunatic, during which period he put the finishing touches to his Positivist philosophy. The English economist John Stuart Mill was insane for a part of the year 1826; after which he began his book on logic published in 1843. Rousseau developed into a maniac, finally suspecting that there was a conspiracy of Heaven against him. The number of men of genius who suffered from delusions of their own grandeur or divinity is a very large one. Hegel would begin his lectures with the words, "With Christ, I may say that I myself *am truth*." Hallucinations were the mainspring of many great religious achievements, such as those of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, and of Joan of Arc, who was

kissed by certain angels. She declared that she felt they "had a good odor." *

§ 2. MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS OF SEX

IT is often stated that there has been a fundamental change in the nature of woman, especially during the post-war period. There has been, I think, no fundamental change in the nature of woman since the dawn of history: there is a peculiar sameness about woman's nature, everywhere and at all times. The reason for this is that she has a function which transcends all her other functions and those of men: the function of procreation, and the early care and education of children. Nothing man does can compare in importance with this. After self-nourishment, it is the supreme function of the human being—and very well woman knows it. Her physical and psychological texture are designed toward this great end. Her whole behavior revolves round it and is held in a more or less fixed manner, as planets are held in space by electro-magnetism or gravitation. The superficial fashions and manners of woman may change; but not woman herself. There has been so much variety in the history of the male (to whom the birth and rearing of children is often an unimportant matter) that he is never quite the same animal from one generation to the next. He has moved away from the primitive state and developed a number of new faculties and a new mentality, all of which emphasize the difference between him and woman today. Woman tends to follow the trend of man's development, but always there looms in the background the great function of her sex; race and climate and social conditions do not seem to affect

* See Fielding, *op. cit.*, and J. F. Nisbet, *The Insanity of Genius*.

it very greatly, so far as one can judge. But when woman changes, she changes more rapidly than man.

¶ *Birth control today*

Momentous possibilities for change are to be found in the modern practice of birth control. Woman is beginning to control population through birth control, and the importance of this new factor in human affairs can hardly be overestimated. Birth control is at present merely in the fetal stage; in a generation or two it may grow into a giant that will embarrass the whole world. It may dominate the polity, commercial and political, of all countries in which it is practiced. What, for instance, will be the use of a machine-made civilization depending upon mass-production and populous markets for its wealth, if those populous markets are reduced by twenty or thirty years of fairly strict birth control?

¶ *Increase in population*

At present the population of the world is increasing, except in districts where birth control is practiced; in these it is stationary or declining. The United States, we are told, has increased in population from 7,500,000 to 120,000,000 in one hundred and fifty years. The population has doubled itself every thirty-five years since the Declaration of Independence. This is no doubt largely due to immigration, but immigration has had to be slowed down enormously. Nearly two million new creatures, not counting immigrants, are added every year.

Diseases such as yellow-fever, smallpox, plague, tuberculosis have yielded to medical science; cancer and the other scourges of humanity may disappear in our lifetime. It is asserted by those best able to judge that in every country the feeble-minded and the biologically unfit are in a majority; and in some countries these undesirables increase about three times as fast as

the best stock. Two out of every three high-school students in America are girls. One-third of all college students in America are girls. In high schools and colleges there are more females than males in the United States, and in England it is the same, and there are already two million surplus women.

¶ *Modern women's power*

Since the privileges of education and independent thinking have been accorded to women, they have often shown aptitude not second to that of men and, in a comparatively short time, they have entered almost every field of human activity. They now occupy important positions in the political, professional, social, and industrial worlds, with great credit to themselves and their sex. Every census shows an increasingly large number of women who are economically independent. It is therefore quite in accordance with these social changes that woman should inquire into the basis of traditional ideas concerning her supreme function. The modern woman is deciding that she has a right to be the mistress of her own body; and to have the final word regarding her own maternal destiny. She is thinking that no man, group, or institution has a right to dictate to her whether or not she shall become a mother; or how many children she shall breed; or when she shall procreate. Motherhood is to her such an important undertaking that she does not wish it to be left to mere accident, blind chance, or the caprice of nature. It should be undertaken voluntarily and intelligently; with due regard to her own health, the health of children already born, the financial prospects of the family, and the outlook on life in general. This is claimed to be the basis of the birth-control movement everywhere: a voluntary and intelligent motherhood instead of one that is accidental and indiscriminate or regardless of circumstances or consequences. "Such a

program has been almost universally adopted by the most intelligent in every civilized country." *

Hitherto the world has been conducted for man's benefit rather than for woman's, and the new woman is determined to wield to her own advantage the powerful weapons she holds. No one can yet tell how all this will end. But it is certain that the future of mankind will depend upon the use or abuse of it. The greater biological safety which birth control has given, has also contributed to the general laxity in sexual morality everywhere. I believe that this is now greater than it has ever been before in western civilization, though it is not nearly so great as in the East where there is no birth control. In any case it does not seem to matter much one way or the other. Nature is not alarmed; and sexual immorality has seldom, if ever, affected the general efficiency of a great people.

† *Making divorce pay*

Modern marriage is so complex a subject that it can be only briefly mentioned here, merely to show that it is no longer (among Protestant nations) the binding institution it used to be. Its basis is biologically the same. To women the (or a) wedding day is still the most important event of her life. Marriage between two human beings happens in the old way: by the capture of the man by the woman, or occasionally vice versa. But there is now a new element, as one might well expect, in view of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, commercialism and finance. This is the business-arrangement marriage, the one in which a woman puts a cash value on herself. The cash consideration also frequently enters into divorce; and in the United States there is a tendency for divorces to turn into mere money-making transactions for women. The professional divorcée has come into existence—the woman

* James F. Cooper, M.D.

who, with her single sister of the oldest profession, uses her physical attractions to extract money from men.

Nor has the oldest profession disappeared from the world, though Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity make it increasingly difficult in very many countries. There are professional prostitutes everywhere, and the white slave traffic still flourishes. I have culled a few casual extracts from a recent League of Nations report * on this most interesting aspect of contemporary human nature. In regard to England it proved difficult for the League investigators to estimate the number of prostitutes operating, no doubt because prostitution is a very sly game in England. The number of arrests in the United Kingdom and Ireland shows a reduction from 1,281 in 1914 to 405 in 1923. The number of arrests for brothel-keeping has fallen from 69 in 1914 to 49 in 1923; there are so many free amateurs that it does not pay to keep shop. Investigation in London showed that the underworld does not consider conditions favorable for white slave traffic. A pimp said: "Things in London are tough. All the girls here are on the streets. Keep under cover or you are liable to be knocked off [be arrested]. They [the police] ain't very fond of boys [pimps] here." † In the United States an investigator "called on 18-R in New York and inquired about engaging girls for a proposed cabaret in Panama City." 18-R said: "I have sent over three hundred down there and I know exactly what you want. You don't want innocents and you don't want prostitutes, but you want girls whom you would call a happy medium. If you had been here five minutes ago you would have seen the swellest flock of blondes that you ever saw. . . . In the next room is a guy who is taking them tomorrow to X-817 in Panama."

* Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children, C. 52, 1927, IV.

† *Op. cit.*

¶ *English and American prostitution*

As prostitutes are not registered in the United States, a study was made of the records of the Woman's Court in the City of New York, forty per cent of whose population is foreign-born, in order to obtain some idea of the proportion of prostitutes who are foreign-born. All women charged with sex offenses throughout the great city pass through this court. The court records showed that from twelve hundred to fourteen hundred women and girls of all nationalities are convicted (in this court) every year of various offenses relating to the practice of prostitution; more than three hundred, or twenty-five per cent, admitted foreign birth. Because of the rigidity of the marriage institution and the shortage of easy amateurs, prostitution would appear to be very much worse in Catholic countries.

¶ *The whore's paradise*

In Brazil, for example, according to the report, "it was explained to the investigator by the madames, prostitutes, and *souteneurs* that young foreign girls were usually brought over to be taken up by wealthy Brazilians as mistresses. The more notorious madames and *souteneurs* frankly stated that they had upon many occasions supplied foreign girls to these wealthy men and had received large sums of money for effecting the introduction, both from the men and from the girls themselves. When asked where these pretty girls came from, one *souteneur* said: "Oh, shows come through town all the time and usually drop a few." He continued: "Do you know there are more kept women in this town than prostitutes?" Others are brought by their husbands (pimps who go to Europe, marry them and place them in "business" in South America) or relatives. The majority of the foreign girls who are to be found in the houses come over at the instigation of friends, male or female, who advance the money and

are reimbursed from the earnings of the girls. Properly licensed houses are the rule in Latin-America, though the activities of professional ladies are not confined to them. "In the So and So Theater (568x) at Buenos Aires, from one hundred to two hundred clandestine prostitutes nightly parade the balcony in search of customers. These women are permitted by the management to ply their trade, and may enter without paying any admission fee. The majority of these women are of foreign birth. Many had just arrived in Buenos Aires and admitted that they came there principally to make money, expecting, after having done so, to return to their native lands. These women were free to operate in this way because the Argentine law does not prohibit soliciting, except upon public streets. Rarely, if ever, except in red-light prostitution districts, has the investigator—in a somewhat wide experience—seen such a varied supply of women as existed in this international market-place." Europe supplies most of the prostitutes to Brazil and the Argentine; other Latin-American countries support the home industry.

¶ *Prostitution and poverty*

Human nature shows no change whatever in respect to this ancient institution, whose members are mentioned in the Bible. They are, like the poor, always with us; and, like the poor, they will probably always exist everywhere, so long as there are men with money and women without it. We must not overlook the fact that nobody hates the business so much as the unfortunate women themselves, who are, in nine cases out of ten, driven to it by force of economic circumstances; and in the tenth case by the desire to preserve liberty of conscience.

¶ *Example of a great European criminal*

It may perhaps be instructive at this point to consider a celebrated case heard a very few years ago in

the French courts. It illustrates many phases of contemporary human nature, and not least a fantastic sexo-economic extreme of twentieth century life in one of the most highly civilized European countries. It also provides a good example of the type of criminal one finds on the continent of Europe, who differs from his *confrère* in the United States in that he more often combines esthetic pleasure with the simple quest for gain. I choose for this example a very great Frenchman, the late Monsieur Henri Desiré Landru, whose biography is briefly as follows: The parentage and upbringing of this excellent man were in every way respectable. His home had a religious atmosphere and, at an early age, he favorably impressed his spiritual pastors and masters by his sweet voice and devout manner in the church choir. In adolescence he took to pursuits rather more profane, successfully seducing the young daughter of his cousin, a girl who was ultimately turned into an honest woman by the holy sacrament of marriage. In the military career he made fair progress, attaining the rank of quartermaster-sergeant. On leaving the army he adopted the profession of advertising. From that moment till he was decapitated by the celebrated Monsieur Deibler (to whose great public work I have referred at some length in another book of mine) he took to swindling nearly everybody with whom he came in contact.

It is a remarkable fact that, before Monsieur Landru became an advertiser, he was a moderately good citizen of France. He now directed his great talent for copy writing to drawing up matrimonial advertisements, which he placed in the newspapers, offering himself as a suitable person to share a couch with any widow who might be possessed of financial charm. Having made contact, he would write pages of love and flattery; to washerwomen in the fifties and other women

whose illusions were as great as their physical ugliness. Of such women as these he would capture the affections, promise marriage, and take care to consummate the relation before embarking upon an actual ceremony. Then, at the right moment, he would suggest that they permit him to sell their goods and chattels or any investments they might possess. When this transaction was completed Monsieur Landru would disappear; and in another neighborhood he would tackle another problem of a similar nature.

¶ *Landru's charms*

Now it happened that among the women whose confidence this man of genius won—and 169 of them were found by the police—there were at least ten whom he could not discard with the ease which he considered necessary to his progress, comfort, and prosperity. These ten he murdered. Their bodily and other remains were incinerated in a little stove at a country villa which he rented; for he found that a change of air during week-ends was good for his health. In appearance Monsieur Landru was a small cockatoo of a man, skinny and pale, with a shining bald pate and a heavy beard of which he was inordinately proud. Those who had the honor of his acquaintance say that he was possessed to an extraordinary degree of those qualities which invariably spell success in dealings with women. He was polite and had a flow of well-turned flattering phrases; and a gift for doing the right thing at the right moment. He could roll his eyes eloquently; and strike a note of piety when this seemed necessary. He also possessed the ready wit which is characteristic of so many criminals and great men. With such an equipment it is not surprising that he led a full, interesting life.

When Landru was tried for his ten *known* murders his personality was such that he almost bamboozled the

jury into a verdict of not guilty; and, although in the end they found him guilty, they tearfully signed a petition for mercy. As an example of Landru's rhetorical abilities the following may be quoted: "You seem preoccupied," said the examining magistrate at the end of a day's grueling cross-examination. To this our hero replied: "True, true, I am. And who could help being so? Alas, my thoughts are upon the electoral situation of my unhappy country"—a remark which caused hilarious laughter and largely destroyed the bad effects that had been produced by the preceding cross-examination.

¶ *Life and death of a great man*

His death was exemplary. When the priest came to cheer him up and prepare the way for the journey from this world to the next, Monsieur Landru indignantly refused to hear him, declaring that the cleric should concentrate his attentions on saving his own soul "of which there was great need." When offered the customary glass of rum and dope which comforts Frenchmen in the hour of decapitation, he refused, saying that he was a life-long prohibitionist. There appeared to be only one regret in his life, and it was that, in order to behead him neatly, the prison officials found it necessary to trim his beard. This he bitterly resented, saying it was quite unnecessary. But officials are not without some of the skim-milk of human kindness, for instead of completely cutting off the beard they merely trimmed it. The great man's head was struck off while he continued uttering the words, "I will be brave"—a piece of Couéism which turned him into a perfect subject for a terrible ordeal.

The lessons to be learned from the life and death of the late Monsieur Landru are so great and so many that I would recommend strongly that his trial be made an official textbook of philosophy, morals, and divin-

ity; and even of science, because of the evidence given by great experts regarding the chemical constitution of incinerated human beings. Every young man who wishes to study the art of love should concentrate upon the work of this modern master. Bacon said that a man finds himself seven years older the day after his marriage; although this may generally be true, it does not apply in the case of Henri Desiré Landru. He reversed the laws of the universe and grew younger as he grew older; until a cruel government put an end to his life—in a manner which typifies national morality in the twentieth century.

§ 3. MORALS AND MANNERS OF THE MODERNS

LET us glance at the morals and manners of our contemporaries, and mentally compare them with those of past generations of men and women. We have already seen how Protestantism following the Reformation introduced the sharp distinction between a man's private life and his religion. In every country which is not Catholic, and even in some of the Catholic countries, the new system of morality has reached an intensified form. In Catholic Ireland, southern Germany, northern Italy, northern Spain, and other places where Catholicism has come into close contact with Protestantism or industrialism, one can see that Catholics are becoming unconsciously followers of the new idea, because of its great commercial convenience. Throughout the whole of western civilization religion now occupies a less important position than formerly in the affairs of men. It still has a strong appeal to the majority, but its restraining moral influence is disappearing and is now considerable only among women

and children. The man who introduces religion in any form into his every-day life is ostracized—not as an evil or untouchable person but simply as a confounded nuisance whose presence is disturbing.

¶ *Irreligion the mark of civilization*

Organized forms and practices of religion are on the wane, except for social or business purposes; and expression of the true religious spirit is far less than among savage or primitive peoples. Irreligion is the mark of highly civilized man in every phase of history. This is not to say that modern morality is better or worse than that which went before. But modern morality is based on motives rather than dogma; in practice it depends upon the expediency of the moment. There has undoubtedly been a great passing of deliberate and wanton cruelty. In some cases it has merely been transferred from beast to man: such sports as gladiatorial fights, animal combats (or their more modern counterparts, blood sports such as cock-fighting, fox-hunting, and badger-baiting) may be regarded as barbarous, but the soul-killing results of machine-minding and factory life, or life in coal mines, do not seem greatly to matter. When at last they do appear to matter, powerful social movements are required before improvements can be effected.

¶ *Modern man easily turned into a beast*

Organized cruelty on a vast scale takes the place of individual acts of cruelty. In twentieth century warfare we see men banded together and trained with the avowed purpose of inflicting the most cruel injuries imaginable upon their fellow men. It is considered to be quite the correct and proper thing to turn men into beasts, and (speaking as an ex-instructor in bombing and bayonet fighting during the last bloody war) I can assure the reader that it takes about a couple of months to achieve this desirable end. Brigadier-General Cro-

zier, who has given much study to matters of warfare says: "I, for my part, do what I can to alter completely the outlook, bearing, and mentality of over a thousand men in as short a time as possible—for the blood lust is taught for purposes of war in bayonet fighting itself and by doping the minds of all with propagandic poison. The German atrocities (many of which I doubt in secret), the employment of gas in action, the violation of Frenchwomen, and the 'official murder' of Nurse Cavell all help to bring out the brutelike bestiality which is so necessary for victory. The process of 'seeing red,' which has to be carefully cultured if the effect is to be lasting, is elaborately grafted into the make-up of even the meek and mild, through the instrumentality of martial music, drums, Irish pipes, bands, and marching songs. Sacred and artistic music is forbidden, save at church, and even then the note of combat is struck. The Christian churches are the finest blood-lust creators we have and of them we made free use." * That shows how superficial civilization really is.

In spite of these occasional and often artificially created lapses into utter savagery, there has been in twenty centuries a general leveling-up and spreading-out of happiness, resulting from a growth in the humanitarian spirit; and this tendency is not on the decline. We no longer regard the lunatic as a person to be beaten unmercifully in order that an evil spirit may be driven out; nor do we chain up in dungeons the mentally infirm. So long as they are harmless they may freely walk about, as we all know from daily personal encounters with them. No longer is a wife regarded as chattel; her status has recently—that is, within the last half-century—been raised above that of the domestic pig and frying-pan. In the year 1927 a gold digger in Johannesburg sold his wife for the sum of ten pounds

* *A Brass Hat in No Man's Land*, by Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier.

and a motor-truck, a transaction which was pleaded as a defense and a set-off to an action for the return of the lorry. I gather that it was not a successful defense; fifty years ago it would have been. In England, state pensions are now paid to the aged whose income is below a certain figure, and there is a proposal under consideration for increasing these pensions, and making them applicable to all persons over sixty. This money is paid not as charity but as a right. Before 1908 old people who suffered from poverty were left to die as best they could; and there was no hubbub about it.

¶ *Is man poorer today?*

It is claimed by economists that there has been a general increase in the prosperity of the western world. By this is meant that there is a greater aggregate of real wealth, whose full use is prevented by the ingenious modern system of bookkeeping and the desire of governments to assist finance. It is, however, doubtful if there is much less general poverty now in the world than at any other period. It is estimated that in western civilization there are fifteen million unemployed and sixty million starving. We do not know the figures of fifty years ago, or of two thousand years ago, though surely they cannot have approached these for today. The cause of this wide-spread unemployment and poverty is undoubtedly the increase of mass-production by machines. In New York alone, over one hundred thousand needy and starving people were assisted financially or otherwise in one twelvemonth, a decade after the war, by a single philanthropic society. In England, the system of insurance by which a worker is compelled to contribute so much each week toward a state fund which is available for unemployment, has been the means of preventing extreme starvation among the masses during post-war years. Insurance money drawn by unemployed from the state has been disgracefully

called the "dole," but it is all nothing more nor less than a simple insurance transaction, in which man insures himself against unemployment, as he might insure himself against sickness or accident. Among those who are not eligible to receive unemployment money there is appalling suffering. In 1928 a man wrote to the London Daily News declaring himself to be out of work and with no prospects of obtaining it. He therefore offered himself to any university or hospital that would care to have him for purposes of scientific research. "I will consent," he wrote, "to the injection of cancer, typhoid, or malaria germs, grafting, or any other form of surgery with the exception of permanent blindness, as I think that would affect my reason." All he asked for was enough money to keep his wife and children from utter starvation. There are thousands equally as badly off.

¶ *Industrial cruelty to children*

A peculiar form of modern cruelty is the employment of child labor. In England this has almost disappeared, but not so in America, where industrialism is more highly developed. In 1927 the American Child Labor Committee reported: "The tendency to employ children has not materially lessened since 1920 when, according to the U. S. Census, there were more than 552,000 working, not including those on home farms. On the contrary there are indications of an increase. Economists say the restriction of immigration and the rapid development of industrial activity will undoubtedly add to this tendency. The harmfulness of child labor has not been clearly understood, or, if understood, has been disregarded. Recent legalistic discussion has to some extent obscured the facts both as to the number of child workers and to the effects of this labor. Many thousands of children who ought to be at school are at work, and many thousands are at work

under conditions that must be condemned. Stricter regulation of child labor coupled with better provision for education and recreation remains a social necessity and therefore the immediate concern of every citizen of every state. There is a grave danger of false complacency growing out of a belief that the job is finished. It isn't." The report then goes on to say that seven states permit children to go to work at fourteen without evidence of ability to read; eighteen states do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment; twelve states allow children at fourteen to work nine to eleven hours a day; twenty-two states allow children at fourteen to run elevators; nineteen states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working on dangerous machinery; seventeen states allow children of fourteen to oil, wipe, or clean machinery in motion; thirty-five states allow children at fourteen to work on scaffolding; twenty-eight states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working in the immediate neighborhood of explosives. It all seems a horrid nightmare.

These are merely facts of modern industrial morality, and they are to be found in greater or less degrees in every industrial country. *Modern industrialism is such that we cannot afford to sneer at the morality of any race or people under the sun.* Perhaps one of the most interesting features of modern American life is the amazing increase in crime. This has been called "The National Dishonor." Crime now costs the United States every year the sum of \$13,000,000,000—approximately the total of the war debt! There are twelve thousand people murdered every year, that is, there are fifty murders in America for each one in Great Britain. The annual murder rate in the United States has increased 350 per cent since 1900. Two-thirds of the crimes committed in the United States are committed by persons

born in Europe or by their immediate descendants. In other words, while in every European country there is less lawlessness than there is in the United States, the chief contributors to lawlessness in the United States are the immigrants from European countries. In many of the larger cities of America there is a political and sometimes a financial partnership between the underworld and the very officials who are sworn to protect the lives and property of law-abiding citizens.

¶ *Wealth and crime*

The causes of this great increase in crime lie much deeper than the influence of the World War or of Prohibition. A steady increase in crime and disrespect for law has been going ahead for thirty years. First and foremost among the causes is the *tremendous increase in wealth*, "which has made for wastefulness, extravagance, and display, and tempted the weak to the acquisition of easy money, which has brought in the conscious part of the economical and political and social life of the nation many thousands of a new generation who have heretofore hidden in poverty. They have *caught the spirit* of the sordid game and, being participants, they have less confidence in their own judgments and easily follow the examples of others." Another cause is the "stupid increase in the number of laws, which by the force of multiplicity alone have increased the sum total of crimes." Next in importance is the "stupendous growth" of physical conveniences such as automobiles, automatic pistols, machine-guns, smoke-screens and airplanes. "The inefficiency of the judicial system" and the "business of amassing wealth and devoting to frivolity the leisure thus gained" are also blamed.*

* Broadcast from station WJSV, Washington, by Wade H. Ellis, of the American Bar Association's Crime Commission. The figures presented by Mr. Ellis, who is a former assistant attorney-general of the United States and an ex-attorney-general of Ohio, are, says the Literary Digest, from the Report of Bar Association's commission. Reported by the *Manchester Guardian*.

¶ *Ordered disorder*

Another reason given for the prevalence of crime is the insufficiency of the police force. The relative necessity for keeping citizens in order may be gathered from the numbers of police per head of the population in the following cities: London, one policeman to 427 of population; Paris, one policeman to 358 of population; Berlin, one policeman to 367 of population; Vienna, one policeman to 492 of population; New York, one policeman to 553 of population; Philadelphia, one policeman to 468 of population; Chicago, one policeman to 712 of population. So that *in America, where there is most crime, the necessity for law and order is considered to be less than in Europe*. Probably the greatest cause of murder in the United States is the practice of carrying revolvers. There is an almost complete absence of restriction on the sale of firearms and ammunition. Crime is now a business, and the Chicago Crime Commission says: "Organized crime has adopted and promoted all those elements of weakness in democratic government which develop, particularly in a large city, the evils of petty politics. One price paid always in some measure and in some way for a democratic form of government is privilege or advantage traded and dealt in to secure votes and the personal advantages accruing from securing political office. Whether the appeal is to one class of voters, or to a single gang leader for the support he may give, the condition to be dealt with should be frankly acknowledged and intelligently handled." I do not quite understand all that; but it seems terrible.

¶ *Lynchings and rape*

Lawlessness in the United States is further exemplified in lynchings, of which there is a recurrence and sometimes an epidemic every year, although there has been some decrease since the great year 1919 when

there were eighty-three recorded cases. Lynching is a survival from the days, after the liberation of slaves, when the white population set about driving the Negro out of politics. It is a custom which has disappeared from the whole world with the exception of America. The excuse usually made for lynching a Negro is that he has been guilty of rape. One can seldom get at the truth in regard to this, but I quote from the best authority I can find. "During the thirty-year period, 1889-1918, less than one-fifth of the colored men done to death by lynching mobs were even accused of 'the usual crime' and in that period fifty colored and eleven white women were lynched. It should be borne in mind that the mob's accusation is not by any means equivalent to conviction, or even to an indictment for crime by a regularly constituted jury. In fact, in a number of cases in which investigators were sent to the scene of lynchings by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, their reports showed not only that the victim's guilt had not been proved, but that he was actually innocent of the crime charged. To take a recent five-year period, that of 1914-18, the number of Negroes lynched in the United States, exclusive of those killed at East St. Louis in the riot, was 264. In only twenty-eight cases, or slightly more than one-tenth of the lynchings, was rape assigned as the cause. If we compare these figures with the record for New York County, which is only a part of New York City, we find that in this one county, in the single year 1917, there were 230 persons indicted for rape, of whom thirty-seven were indicted for rape in the first degree. That is, in just a part of New York City, nine more persons were indicted for rape in the first degree than there were Negroes lynched throughout the entire United States in a five-year period. Not one of the thirty-seven persons indicted in New York was a

Negro." * I have no means of checking the accuracy of these statements but, as they appeared in a publication read by those best able to contradict them, and no contradictions appeared, one must assume their truth.

Lynching provides an excellent example of the effect of example and suggestion upon a crowd of otherwise decent citizens. It is an example of how far seemingly peaceful modern people will go, in giving expression to hate, the moment they are aroused. And it is a striking example of the fact that the reasons and actions which arouse frenzy in a crowd need not necessarily be either moral or based upon truth. It is sufficient for the crowd to *believe that they are true*. The atmosphere does the rest. This applies to the actions of crowds in every country, and in every country their madness is precisely of the same nature. Lynching is merely a local mannerism or fashion in certain states of America. Happily it tends to decrease.

¶ *Savagery in the midst of civilization*

I shall now give a verbatim report from an American newspaper, in which the facts are given of what an excellent lynching there was during New Year's Eve celebrations in the year of grace 1929. "More than six thousand enraged Delta farmers," it reads, "were back at their homes today after witnessing last night the burning alive of Charley Sheppard. Occupants of more than three thousand automobiles, standing in a giant circle, stood silently about in a clearing of the forests near Rome,† just outside the gates of State Prison Camp 11, and watched the mob leaders bind Sheppard, toss him on a pile of wood, drench the Negro killer and the wood with gasoline and touch a torch to the powerful Negro's frame. A staff correspondent of the Daily News who was with the mob which toured

* "Lynching," by James Weldon Johnson in the *Current History Magazine* (January, 1924).

† *I.e.*, Rome, U.S.A.

through the country for nearly seven hours, and who was present all during the burning alive of the black slayer, gave a vivid description of how the enraged farm and townspeople went methodically about their work of torturing Sheppard in the most dramatic manner possible. Before the match was touched to him, Sheppard's mouth and nose were partly filled with mud to prevent him from inhaling gas fumes which might cause him instant death. It was clearly the intent of the mob, the staff correspondent said, to make the black double-murderer-kidnaper suffer as long as there was life in his body. The flaming torch was again withheld as a wild-eyed member of the mob, intent on further torture, leaped atop the pile of wood, straddled the Negro's body and cut his ears off with a pocket knife. At about 7:15 the flaming torch was touched to the gasoline-soaked mass of humanity and wood, and a gasp went up from the circle of spectators as the gasoline flames shot high in the air. Some hundreds of women in the crowd screamed, and their cries mingled with the agonized shrieks of the burning Negro, who twisted and fought at his ropes, cursing his captors and white people generally. Several attempts were made to shoot Sheppard as he let loose his death-shrieks, but these were stopped by other members of the mob, who argued that the Negro should be made to suffer as much as his life allowed. While the silent crowd stood about the clearing, fresh cans of gasoline were tossed on the burning bier to keep the fire burning brightly. The correspondent estimated it was forty-five minutes before the powerfully built Negro finally quit his convulsive twitching and agonized fighting at the ropes and flames. The time might, he admitted, have been shorter than that, although it seemed that long to the witnesses. Because of his powerful build the black slayer lived an almost unbelievably long time, according to all reports.

His body began to disintegrate almost before he died, they said. His feet and legs were soaked with gasoline before oil was poured on the rest of his body, and one leg fell from his trunk before he gave his last living twitch. Cooper, former deputy sheriff of Rankin County, told the Daily News that he thought Sheppard was 'crazy.' 'You could tell he was a half-wit by looking at him,' Cooper said. The blackened skull of the black who paid by an hour of burning alive before he lost consciousness, smoked in a ditch beside the road this morning, tossed there by a souvenir hunter who captured it after cremation last night. The man who cut off Sheppard's ears with a pocket knife just before the torch was applied to his gasoline soaked body, later exhibited them at a filling station in Drew." *

That, I think, is a good example of the extremes of savagery to which modern civilized man (*Homo Sapiens*) will go in his hate of his fellow creatures. In short, he is at times far more savage than any animal to be found in any jungle. Other examples could be quoted, but I think that one makes my point clear, without laboring it unnecessarily. I may perhaps mention one more case, rather different, to show how a silly little incident may lead to a grand riot. In the spring of 1921 at Tulsa, Oklahoma, a careless and no doubt impertinent Negro lad—a mere spirited boy—had stumbled as he entered the elevator of a hotel. In an instinctive effort to regain his balance he caught the arm of a young white lady who was operating the elevator; whereupon the girl screamed loudly. A sensation-seeking newspaper reporter who happened to be near, wrote what journalists call a good story of a "Negro's Attempt to Assault White Girl." In the newspaper office this scoop was further embroidered and embellished; stunning headlines were added; and the story

* *Jackson Daily News*, January 1, 1929.

was duly published. That started the fun. The "boys" got busy. A white mob collected to lynch the Negro, and a colored mob assembled to defend his life. All signs of law and order vanished, together with the influence of three thousand years of culture. Mob spirit rose to great heights and a conflict raged until the death roll numbered one hundred. A considerable portion of the city was wiped out.

¶ *European heritage of cruelty*

Similar epidemics, I find, have occurred within very recent years in East St. Louis, Omaha, and Chicago; and there have been other murderous outbreaks of less consequence elsewhere. I trust that the facts and figures which I have quoted will convince the reader of one thing: *that amongst the most civilized races the spirit of savagery and cruelty is by no means dead*. Longer experience and discipline and very great experience of brutality and torture have helped to curb it in European countries, with the possible exception of Russia; in which, under both tsarist and Bolshevik rule, those vigorous primitives are wont on occasion to be more bloodthirsty than anywhere else in the world. Incidents of modern cruelty could be quoted from every civilized country. Under the Fascist rule in Italy there have been many brutalities; the English effort to subdue the Irish before the settlement of 1921 indicated the presence of the old spirit. All that is required—now and in the past—to set flame to the passions of man is a "cause." It is rather curious that the "causes" nowadays productive of most cruelty are always intended for the benefit of mankind. In capital punishment, which still survives in many countries, we find an example of violence "righteously" used by states for the benefit of their citizens. If it be of any use whatever in dealing with crime—which many people doubt—it is a standing example of how a brutal old law can survive. And

it sets a bad fashion in morality. One is glad to learn that it is exceptional for men awaiting execution (in England) to lose weight and to lose health. Indeed, according to one excellent authority a man awaiting his execution "generally improves in health." *

Protestantism introduced the "God is God, but Business is Business" idea and finally put the hall-mark on this facet of morality during the golden age of slave-trading; then nineteenth century industrialism intensified the feeling that God must be kept in his place. And when we come to the twentieth century we find the influence of the Supreme Being so far reduced that He is becoming a polite term of reference. The fear of God, which was formerly the beginning of wisdom, has almost disappeared from the world. An English preacher, Dr. Dale of Birmingham, stated even some years ago, "*No man now fears God.*" The steady elimination of fear generally is another interesting feature of the modern world. The general philosophic outlook of mankind has been so changed by the European war (with its ten million dead) that far fewer people regard the fear of death as something that need seriously disturb them. The terrors of Hell have vanished. Furthermore, fear is playing a small and decreasing rôle in penology. A hundred years ago the hangman's noose was the cure-all for crimes. At present there is serious discussion, in all countries where capital punishment exists, as to whether it is of any use whatever in dealing with the very few crimes for which it is retained. Fear of parents has also practically disappeared: the birch-rod no longer has its former honorable place in the average household. The old idea of morality was to punish the wrong-doer, child or adult, and there was considered to be no great need to argue about right or wrong, because might was always right.

* Dr. Alan C. Pearson, Senior Medical Officer, Wandsworth Prison.

Parents will now reason with their children; and the process frequently ends in an argument in which the child wins. The result is a good-humored disrespect for parental authority.

¶ *Great physical courage of modern man*

One school of thought believes that the new morality is undermining the hitherto strong, resolute, and daring character of men; that the present generation is a flaccid one, with none of the old courage that "sprang from religion." Such a view as this is based upon a complete ignorance of history, a lack of common sense, and an absence of the power of observation. There was probably no time in history in which both the physique and intelligence of man as a whole were greater than they are today; and there was no time when men have more widely demonstrated, beyond a shadow of a doubt, their great courage and tremendous vitality. Some peoples may be a little exhausted after the strain of war. But what does the loss of ten million men matter biologically in a world consisting of twenty thousand millions? And in which the population is steadily increasing? War losses and the psychological effects of war are very quickly retrieved. The physical, mental, and spiritual reactions afterwards merely represent human nature having a rest after an over-exhilarating activity. In two generations at the outset the biological effects have disappeared completely. But certain psychological effects remain a little longer, and a few may even be intensified. Of these, I think, the most important is that part of the human psyche which governs the quality of courage; and this, I think, is strengthened. I believe that western man (that is to say, the type we find in western European and American civilization) is in every way a braver creature than any that has ever before existed on the face of this earth. Looking through the pages of world history, I doubt if

one will find any phase in which man more resolutely faced more terrifying or devastating creations than the modern engines and explosives of war which millions faced between 1914-18. There is no need for me to illustrate this fact by quoting incidents; nor any need for me to enter into the history of the war. Our generation has been made thoroughly familiar with the whole filthy business. Every book that is published on the subject merely adds further evidence to support what I wish to emphasize: namely, the great courage to be found in all classes of society, and in a diversity of nations.

In spite of the fact that the influence of God in human affairs is declining, masses of people everywhere continue the devout worship of the Supreme Being. This is especially true of Catholic countries and the United States. The great wave of prosperity in the last-named country is reflected in a wave of church-building everywhere, by all denominations.* Schools and universities are building notable chapels; great sums of money are expended; and the best architects are at work providing imposing designs and solid structures. When American civilization has crumbled to the dust, there will remain (for the Russo-Chinese archeologist of five hundred years hence) so many ruins of churches that he will say to himself, "These Americans were a very religious race—or, perhaps, like the English, they were a nation of hypocrites." It is also in America that we find least toleration; and this in itself is an indication that the spirit of religion has not yet disappeared. In Europe religion has reached the phase at which few people take it really seriously; and hence there is great toleration.

¶ *Bolsheviks abolish God*

But matters have sometimes gone beyond mere toleration. By far the most interesting phase of modern

* See the *Literary Digest*, August, 1929.

religion is the attempt by the Bolshevik government to abolish God entirely. In the Federation of Soviet Republics the law provides that every citizen is at liberty to practice any religion or none at all. It is, however, the definite belief of the Bolshevik leaders that religion is not a good thing for human nature; and they have begun an intensive campaign of propaganda to educate millions of peasants and workers to this belief. Accusations have been brought against the Soviet government that in their enthusiasm to propagate atheism, members of Christian and other creeds have suffered the direst persecution. It is inconceivable in view of the whole history of human nature that there should be any profoundly revolutionary idea which does not involve cruelty, or even persecution, in some form or another; though the modest claim is made that under the Soviet régime there is more toleration than there was under the tsar. We must leave it to the next generation to elucidate the truth in regard to the present phase of religion in Russia, and content ourselves with the one important fact which emerges beyond doubt, even at this stage of the business. We must record in our minds that, for the first time in history, a powerful government (ruling nearly one-fourteenth of the population of the globe) has definitely set itself the immense task of preventing God from interfering in the affairs of men. If they succeed, they will have effected a complete revolution in human mentality.

¶ *Cultural influence of the cinema*

The cinema is the modern attraction which everywhere seems to be taking the place of church-going in countries where this practice is admittedly declining. There is now no city in the world without its moving-picture theaters; and bigger and better ones appear in all directions. The screen is undoubtedly one of the factors which go to the shaping of human nature in its

latest phase, though it is a little early to say exactly how and where this shaping process is taking place, not to mention its ultimate effects upon the nature of man; especially upon his morals and his manners. As usual, the experts disagree. Some say that the influence is good. Those who favor the church influence, or who obtain a livelihood as professional moralists, righteously maintain the contrary. In Europe nobody worries very much about it one way or the other, but in the United States, where more money is at stake on both sides, the pros and cons of cinematograph morality are matters of considerable financial importance; and are therefore subjects of deep study. The Rev. Clifford Gray Twombly, D.D. (rector of St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania) estimates that of the twenty million people who daily enjoy the films in America seventy-five per cent are under twenty-four years of age, and he says, "more than thirty per cent of the films, or about one in every three, are striking at the very basic cornerstone of American life, for they are tending to destroy the sanctity of marriage and of the family, and are making light of personal purity. They are subtly and insidiously and intentionally sensual."

Dr. Twombly estimates that ten million children of school age daily attend moving-pictures. They contemplate the behavior of their elders and no doubt are influenced by the astounding sexual and other tergiversations of screen heroes and heroines, villains and villainesses. "One needs to do no more," comments the Rev. Dr. Twombly, "than scan the billboards or read the movie-showhouse announcements in the press, to be certain that the vile is emphasized and the suggestive played up above all other forms of attraction. That the picture industry has become the fourth or fifth largest in the United States, under these conditions, would seem to justify the judgment of the producers in feed-

ing out so great a proportion of filth. If this were done frankly they could be left to the authorities, but it is all disguised under a hypocritical camouflage maintained by three men, who have chosen to sell their own reputes to the shameless and mercenary group who fatten off the souls of the innocent, and who pretend they are interested in art. This shallow pretense has now worn thin, and through the threadbare veil appears greed, in the full panoply of the richness it has grasped. The shares in the movie corporations are widely held, under the modern system of selling earning power while continuing control in the hands of insiders. This keeps the paws of the investor clean and permits the promoter to work his rascally will." I hope this is clear to the reader.

Replying to it in a scientific paper (read to the policewomen of San Francisco) a representative of the film industry gave an imposing array of facts to show that, *but for the films*, crime might reach really serious dimensions in America. He said that a study of 620 feature pictures produced in America during 1928 shows that actually 33.7 per cent contained *no villain* and *no crime*; in 17.5 per cent the villain was *killed*; in 33.8 per cent the villain was *imprisoned*; in 4.4 per cent he was *reformed*; and in the remainder of the pictures he was *punished by the hero*. The lecturer, warming to his subject, went on to say that, in the thirty-eight 'underworld' pictures of the preceding year, the villain was *killed* in fourteen instances, *arrested* in nineteen cases, and *reformed* in five. "*Such is the iron-clad moral of the movies*," he declared, "*that not once does the guilty escape punishment*." My italics.

¶ *The psychology of the film audiences*

Now most films are made with the object of catering for what the psychologists call "projection," the idea being that the audience may pleasingly project itself

into the personalities of the actors and actresses who appear on the screen. The activities of these shadowy figures are those best calculated to appeal pleasingly to the emotions of the audience. On the screen there can be shown activities such as are strongly forbidden by religion and law, as well as by that unwritten code of morality we all know so well—the one which “holds society together.” The audience finds itself enraptured while it projects itself and in imagination lives a life of delightful immorality or lawlessness, drunkenness, love-triangles, and infinitely sweet adulteries. For the strong, silent, asexual men there are shooting and murders and business-cheatings resulting in great fortunes. Weak and miserable characters inevitably lose all their money, if they ever had any. The films are thus a great help in popularizing the notion that sin may be very amusing and provide first-rate fun for those who indulge in it. By virtue of the general diffusion of culture, and especially the spread of elementary education, this fact had already been suspected by a large number of people.

The World War had released many hitherto suppressed passions of men and had provided a powerful impetus for evil (for soldiers and sailors do not continue to fight very well unless they are given great license the moment military discipline is relaxed). And the female population of all countries took pity upon the men suffering from a release of passion, glad of the great opportunity. Hence, the morality of the cinematograph matured at an opportune moment and helped by association of ideas to stimulate laxities in sexual matters and encouraged that common feature of all human nature: the propensity for what we call vice.

Vice is a matter of fashion, changing from period to period, and locality to locality. Definition of it depends entirely upon public opinion at a given moment. For

example, in prohibition countries there are prohibitionists who regard drinkers as vicious; in wine-producing countries (such as Italy or France) the man who does not take his glass of wine is looked upon with extreme suspicion, and the solemn whisper goes round that he practices some secret horrible vice that is ten times worse than drunkenness; otherwise, "he must have a bad stomach." By stimulating the propensity for vice, the films arouse indignation in the hearts of those whose public position prevents them from free indulgence in it; and at the same time they must perforce see the more fortunate endlessly enjoy themselves. Consequently, the number of people everywhere who are virtuous against their will is almost as great as that of those who make a virtuous pastime of their natural and inherent vices.

I have referred once or twice to the growing hypocrisy of modern man, the far-away cause of it being the desire among large numbers of men to avoid some form of pain or punishment. The appearance of the Empire of Hell caused a great growth of hypocrisy among Christian nations in the first centuries of our era. Men and women were willing to say something which they did not believe, in order that they might be given the assurance that they should not burn throughout eternity. The Inquisition produced similar results, the reason then being that men would say what they did not believe rather than burn there and then. The Reformation again produced a wave of hypocrisy, for people joined the new church very often as a matter of mere whim or fancy based upon the attraction of novelty or variation in religion; or to avoid terrible persecutions. Industrialism again added to it. It was so beneficial to the country, they said. But it is the modern commercial doctrine of Success and Prosperity which is giving the final touches to human hypocrisy.

¶ *Success in business*

For purposes of business, men will now say or do almost anything. During business hours the most excellent people, who do not dream of lying or deceiving in their private lives will, for purposes of gain and Success, perjure themselves from morning to night, and never think for a moment that they are behaving in any but the most exemplary manner. We see this admirably illustrated in methods employed to advertise and sell goods. In regard to advertising, hard lying has reached such a state of poise and perfection that much of the copy we read is better conceived and written than the bulk of contemporary prose literature. As for salesmanship, modern man thrives on it. The salesman (which word also embraces those of the opposite sex) is a man whose chief object in life is to persuade people to buy the goods he is selling. It occasionally happens that there are numbers of people who actually require the particular goods he is trying to sell; but it is equally certain that there are far larger numbers who either cannot afford to buy them or do not really need them. All of the modern salesman's education is designed to provide him with powers capable of persuading these last two classes of people to buy; for, it is only when goods are *not wanted* that any real skill is required. When we inquire into the meaning of the word skill as applied to salesmanship, we find that it embraces cajolery, hypocrisy, lying, prevarication, subterfuges, cunning, and deceitful movements from the front and flank, mendacious attacks from the rear, from above, and from below, all with the object of making people buy the unnecessary and unwanted article or articles. The art of rhetoric is expanded by advertisers and salesmen into flights perhaps not worthy of Shakespeare, yet very imaginative. The machine enormously magnifies the boosts of the advertisers. A tin whistle

well played may sound better than a cathedral organ badly played. And the organ badly played can make so much noise as to be impressive in spite of the disharmony. The article is sold, the salesman gets his commission and the customer adds one more article to a number which he has been persuaded to buy against his or her (generally her) better judgment. When salesmanship is combined with facilities for hire-purchase, a goodly proportion is roped in of those people who otherwise could not afford to buy.

¶ *What Success means to others*

All this is the logical outcome of the machine and of a manufacturing system which can produce far more goods than the world is able to buy. The world is now purchasing nearly twenty times the amount of goods per year that it was purchasing thirty years ago. There is more unemployment and, on the whole, probably more real poverty; there are also more millionaires, more advertising, and more "expert" salesmen. The whole system is becoming intensified and there is at present an increasing population which is "educated" to require more luxuries and more "necessities." The moral cause behind it all is merely that "Business is Business." Advertising, hire-purchase, and salesmanship are everywhere causing people to live above their income, which itself means that they tell or act lies all day long. The world today is largely a hypocritical world as a consequence. On the one hand we have a general laxity in morals and beside it we have the cynical hypocrisy of an artificial existence, which brings with it the most fantastic reactions. This partly explains why we find such curious phenomena as a state banning a dictionary because it contains a definition of the word evolution, as actually occurred when Arkansas banned Webster's Dictionary. It also partly explains the activities of good people who are not really puritans, but

who salve their horrible consciences by banning the amusements of others: they are often the people behind movements to suppress "immoral" literature and movements to prohibit all frankness in matters of religion or sex. It also tends to produce extremes in innumerable directions, freakish movements in religion and in matters of social life. There are countries in which the dangers of commercial materialism are fully realized, and spiritual compensations provided. In Germany, for instance, there is a "nakedness" cult patronized by males and females who enjoy sun-bathing combined with contemplation of their own human forms divine. Nobody in Germany seems to take exception to this; it is indeed regarded as quite a beneficial and soul-soothing form of amusement, though amusement is hardly the right word, because members of the sect take it so seriously.

¶ *Censorship of legs and busts*

In England this sort of completely naked sun-bathing would land the bathers in prison. There are in England seventy-three seaside resorts where the length and color and shape of bathing costumes are subject to municipal scrutiny; the Lord help the woman who wears a V-shaped neck at Wigan; or those males and females who dare to bathe in each other's presence at Huddersfield.* In certain parts of the world it is considered undesirable for women to engage in sports, because of the possibility of exciting the passion of males by an exhibition of legs and busts. However, in most civilized countries women may now indulge in outdoor sports to their hearts' content. In the Victorian era this was not so, and even today the Vatican looks upon it with disfavor. In 1928 the pope protested against the public appearance of females in sporting contests in Italy. It was therefore decided to compro-

* *Sunday Express*, May 11, 1930.

mise by substituting bows and arrows for rifles in a shooting competition, and this announcement drew a vigorous protest from the *Osservatore Romano*. The newspaper maintained that the offense to Christian manners and customs was repeated by this new athletic contest. "Further," added the *Osservatore*, "it is, to say the least, a sudden exotic mimicry of other nations here in Italy, where the Fascist régime so jealously guards the characteristics of Latin civilization. In any case, it is false to say that women's sport in public enjoys the highest credit among Anglo-Saxons. (Sic) As to Latin civilization, everyone knows that the Romans never admitted women to their stadiums, armed or unarmed. (Sic) To find a precedent for such a practice we should have to go back to the most corrupt cities of ancient Greece. (Sic)" * This shows how women's mentality is changing even under the rigid conservatism of Mussolini.

The change in western mentality may be illustrated further by the general attitude of authority toward "outspokenness" in matters of sex. Before the industrial era, men and women could say almost what they liked in public, and there was almost complete frankness in literature. Now there is a brake upon honesty of expression. It takes the form of a censorship of the theater, of books, newspapers, and all forms of publications, and is most noticeable in England, Germany, and the United States. In France it hardly exists. No doubt this censorship may in some instances be beneficial. In Germany, for instance, a "Smut and Trash" Act was introduced in 1926, one which only comes into operation when complaints are made against individual works and publications. These complaints are investigated and judged by a proper tribunal. Appeals against decisions of the tribunal can be made to a higher one.

* Quoted by the *Manchester Guardian*, November 19, 1928.

Departments have been formed to give effect to the censorship law, at Berlin, Munich, and Leipzig. Some sixty-three publications were put on an Index by the Smut and Trash Tribunal up to May 31, 1929. Nine of these were deliberately criminal or scandalous, seventeen were serial stories, fourteen were criminal or love stories in book form, seven were homosexual magazines, seven were "nature" magazines (highly pornographic in character); there were also a Cologne criminal-news publication and three other books. In both England and America there is, in addition to the legal provision for dealing with obscene books, an unregulated, irresponsible, and hypocritical censorship, which often interferes with the publication of great works of literature. James Joyce's "Ulysses," for example, one of the great books of the modern world (and in no sense immoral) is banned because it contains a few passages and words which might shock us. This unregulated censorship is defeated by the publication of "limited" editions at high prices. Thus, there is—as there always has been everywhere—one code of morality for the rich, and another for the poor; and that, in a nutshell, sums it all up.

Now as manners depend upon morals, it is quite simple for us to sum up the change that has taken place in the twentieth century. Since we have become more hypocritical, we may say that in so far as the superficial manners of men and women are concerned there has been a very distinct change for the better. This may also be partly attributable to the feminist movement in which the slogan went up for equality of the sexes; and hence there is less tomfoolery in the guise of etiquette and chivalry. The war also contributed its share to the process of making men and women more genuinely polite to one another. It is, however, in matters of taste and "form" that there is the greatest difference. The

modern world undoubtedly suffers from what is called the vulgarity of wealth, as popularized by the cinema. In the past the standard in manners, morals, good taste, and form was set up by the aristocracy, the priesthood, and men of culture. There was a very small "upper ten" whose taste was good, and the rest of the world consisted of simple and often very rude people. The Crusades created the spirit of chivalry which we saw exemplified in the case of the washerwoman who had to walk on foot the whole of the land journey to Palestine, while her lord lorded it on horseback. We are not so honest as that Crusader. We are more hypocritical. If we were in his place we should probably give the poor girl a lift, even to our own discomfort; though, if it interfered with the progress of a war it might even today be in the national interests to make her walk. We should be simply delighted to take shelter behind such an excuse.

§ 4. CONCERNING CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE

THE question "Does human nature change?" will, I hope, have answered itself by this time. *Human nature does change*; often for the worse. It may be instructive, however, to attempt to draw up a rough schedule of how and in what manner changes occur, one which will indicate whether they are superficial or fundamental. To understand the nature of these changes it is necessary to appreciate fully the fact that man is *an animal* with social propensities, and an intelligence developed to an extent which we do not find in any other form of nature. In the first place let us consider those qualities of man which are to be found among all highly developed animals; that is to say,

those qualities which are more or less subject to the ordinary laws of biology. Such qualities spring from fundamental instincts and emotions pertaining to the existence, the preservation and perpetuation of the species—for example, hunger and sex. In these there has been hardly any change whatever in the half a million years in which human beings are supposed to have existed on this earth. In circumstances of extreme hunger and privation one cannot be sure that the most civilized man will not kill and eat his dearest friend. I have already given recent instances of wide-spread contemporary cannibalism in China; there are recorded isolated instances of cannibalism at sea among Englishmen during the Victorian era; and there has been a rumor of a very recent case having occurred during an exploring expedition whose members consisted of an old and highly cultured race. When driven by hunger man will eat almost anything and will do anything for food; law, morality, manners, and all influences of heredity and environment are driven out. The sublime law of biology—the law of jungle and ocean—takes their place.

In regard to hunger, then, there has been no fundamental change. Nor is there in matters of sex any great change, though there is a host of changes in the moral code and in the manners governing it at different periods of history and in different races. Rape is no longer considered polite by men and women, though they both object to it in principle far less than they care to admit. In regard to fear, another fundamental instinct based always upon the desire for life, there is a slight change due to the steady disappearance from the world of a dread of Invisible and Intangible Things, and the fear of the consequences of death. Man now *seems to be* a much braver being than he has ever been before, although one is not too certain of this when we

think of his terrific struggle against the monsters of the prehistoric world and those of the jungle during the incalculably long hunting period, when his character and nature were mostly formed. In regard to combativeness, there are considerable changes; although some people may consider that they are merely superficial. The original physical struggle for existence during the period when man was still a hunted animal has been replaced by (or sublimated in) a sort of commercial combativeness and ruthlessness exemplified in every phase of life under modern finance and industry. The gregarious instinct is another of the fundamentals that have undergone a change, in that it has become intensified. Although the world is still for the most part engaged in agriculture, there are now whole areas in which ninety per cent of the population consists of city dwellers: and when human beings have dwelt for a couple of generations in a city they lose desire for the peace of a bucolic life.

¶ *The cultural structure*

It is doubtful if the human powers of imagination have very greatly changed in two thousand years. The powers are the same, but behind them they have an immense cultural structure providing endless stimulating and suggestive ideas. I have already referred to the seeming inevitability of inventions. To this may be added that each new invention provides material for Heaven only knows how many others. Who could imagine in the early nineteenth century that Faraday's experiments in electricity were to end in the American financial and commercial conquest of half the world. For there is no doubt whatever but that American industrial efficiency and wealth are based upon electric power and the highly efficient use made of it in dealing with the immense natural resources ready to hand. Those immense natural resources were discovered, it

would appear, as a result of Columbus's leisure reading (which happened to include Marco Polo's "Travels") together with the development of those two amazing inventions, the mariner's compass and the jib for tack-
ing against the wind.

¶ *The intelligence of "average man"*

In the whole history of human nature there has been only one thorough effort to reduce to scientific terms the intelligence of a large number of men. It is of very great importance to everybody, since it gives a rough indication of the standard of intellect to which modern man has attained. During the World War the American army authorities collected data of which the object was to discover the intelligence, if any, of about 1,800,000 men, of whom 41,000 were officers. Nearly thirty per cent were found to be unable to read or understand newspapers or write letters home. The whole army was eventually divided into the following categories: A, men of *Very Superior* intelligence, such as those with ability to make a good record at a university; of these there were no less than four and one-half per cent. B, men of *Superior* intelligence, that is, men capable of average work at a college or public school; of these there were nine per cent. C+, sixteen and one-half per cent, men of *High Average* intelligence, including some with a capacity for "leadership." C, about twenty-five per cent, men of average intelligence who made "excellent privates" (mental age fourteen), C—, about twenty per cent, men of *Low Average* intelligence—only "moderate privates"—(mental age twelve). D, about fifteen per cent, men of *Inferior* intelligence, slow to learn but "fair soldiers," though unable to understand written directions. D—&E, about ten per cent, men of *Very Inferior* intelligence (mental age of from three to ten years). Fielding comments: "Assuming that the drafted men were a fair sample of the

mental development of our [i.e. American] 100,000,000 population, it means that 45,000,000 or nearly one-half of the whole population have the mental capacity of a normal twelve-year-old child, and that only thirteen and one-half per cent possess superior intelligence." The same probably applies throughout western civilization, to judge from the general social history of recent years. I should, however, put the literacy of European nations higher.

Now we cannot well estimate the intelligence of our prehistoric ancestors, apart from such guidance as may be obtained from the brain capacity of the skulls that have been found in various places. But we do know that the brain capacity of the Cromagnon woman far exceeded that of the average twentieth century man. The skull which informs us of this had been smashed by a heavy blow from a bludgeon, perhaps some fifty thousand years ago (and probably during a domestic argument). It is therefore a little difficult to say whether we have more intelligence, though there is evidence which points to a slight improvement. In this respect also we may, therefore, give man the benefit of the doubt; and say that human nature has changed for the better. I am well aware that there is a powerful group of anthropologists and sociologists opposed to this conclusion, but somehow I do not care to admit that they are right, and that man is now lower in intelligence than he used to be. This is mere emotional prejudice on my part, and is not based upon reason.

Whether there is any great advance in human energy I do not know. A casual glance at the great feats of endurance of the past makes one doubtful. Is there any modern feat of endurance which surpasses the marches of Alexander the Great across half of Asia? Or Hannibal's feat in crossing the Alps? Or the building of the Pyramids? Or the voyages of the navigators, or

those funny wars of the Middle Ages in which men careered about and fought terrific hand-to-hand combats while carrying armor and equipment of appalling weight? One thing seems to be certain and it is that the modern collectivist use of the mobilized energy surpasses anything known to history. It is this mobilized and controlled energy, harnessed to machine power, which has in the course of a hundred years provided a means of rapidly changing a whole cultural edifice: this may best be illustrated by the case of Japan.

† *Influence of the cultural structure*

Our cultural edifice has itself now become an external influence which is at present engaged in remaking and reshaping the superficial facets of man's nature, those which change from age to age and may even change considerably in the nation or individual during a lifetime. Thus, the western world is steadily being divided into two categories of people: those who are actually slaves to the machines, and those who come under machine-made or machine-magnified influence in some form or other. The tending of machinery is even producing a new type of man. In the old days a craftsman made his product from start to finish and in it expressed his originality and personality. In so doing he fulfilled a psychological yearning. Now the tendency is for a worker to spend nearly all of his very short period of maturity and fitness in doing a single operation which after a week or so requires no mental effort whatever. The machine knows no fatigue in the natural sense of the word. It sets the pace of human labor in a ruthlessly exacting manner. Science has been called in to estimate nicely how much a machine-minder can stand; the vigilance of employers takes care that he uses up to the very last ounce his powers of endurance. Tension, monotony, and noise unite to turn what might have been a fair example of *Homo Sapiens* into a wretched

creature that is neither machine nor human. The creature may have wages and freedom outside of factory hours: but is he or she really in advance of the serf or villein or slave of the Middle Ages, or the slave of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, or Rome?

¶ *Standardized man*

The man who is half a machine is now common to most parts of the world; the man who is one-quarter machine is to be found in every grade of society; and the man who does not come under the standardizing influence of the machine in some form or other is as rare as a white blackbird. Every phase of modern civilization is coming under the sway of machinery and the ruthless commercial greed that is behind it. The higher artistic faculties and the latent powers of creation are being eliminated in all directions; they survive only among the most courageous rebels, who themselves tend to be overwhelmed or develop into freaks. Two late cultural achievements of the modern world are the invention of the talking film (of which the logical development is multilingual "talkies") and the machine which enables a telegraph operator to set up type at the rate of sixty words a minute in one or more printing factories or newspaper offices situated at great distances. This invention contains a possibility that one operator will be able to set up type simultaneously in every city of a country. Hence, one staff of journalists working under one editor (who may be and most probably will be a finance-slave) will be able to educate millions of people in the way they should go. Such an editor, like all other editors, will have to bear in mind the lowest common denominator of intelligence among his readers (please remember the result of those intelligence tests), and any idea that is unlikely to please them will have to be struck out. Ideas are valuable only when they are strikingly original and as near to abso-

lute truth and absolute honesty as is humanly possible; and they must tend toward the happiness and comfort, not of a few, but of all men. Hence the utilization of this machine and others of a similar nature by the commercially and financially powerful may end in the mental and moral degradation and enslavement of huge conglomerations of people, many of whom are already more than half standardized as it is. Here the reader may turn back to pages 228-9 and ponder upon the example given of the effect of mob upon individual.

¶ *The standardized face*

A writer in the English press * recently drew attention to a phase of standardization which has, apparently, been overlooked by the anthropologists. It is one which must have unconsciously occurred to many people who visit the cinemas and see machine-made heroes and heroines, villains and bad lasses. I mean the standardization of the human face. Ideas and motorcars, buildings and tea-cakes, music and literature, ice-cream carts and petrol pumps, clothing, haircuts and film stars are, we know, already much of a muchness everywhere, not only in the United States but in the more highly civilized parts of Europe such as England. But faces? One might have thought that they would be the last things to resist standardization. Apparently it is not so. The observer I have mentioned says: "The third generation of European immigrants seen in American public schools tends toward a uniformity of face and feature suggesting the work of a Heavenly Henry Ford. I have seen children of Italians, Swedes, Germans, and Greeks sitting side by side, looking almost alike, and talking exactly the same. Impressive thought! One day America may have one single face. This will not be at all like the marvelous long face of Lincoln,

* R. J. Cruikshank, New York correspondent of the *London Daily News*, April 25, 1930.

thought-worn and tender. It will be a round, fattish face, with a jolly smile flashing on and off like electric light. It will be a middle-western face, and it will have few lines but quite a number of creases. It will be very pleasant and good-natured, but oh! so redundant."

No lessons are simpler than those of history; and none receive less serious consideration by the human being. One thing may yet save western civilization from utter standardization and robotization, and that is the preservation of languages and dialects and the encouragement of individual absurdities, bizarreries, grotesqueness, mysteries, superstitions and beliefs; the cultivation of such originalities as those we have recently read of in the press regarding the solemnization of a marriage under water, and the refusal of an English bargee to permit his children to read or go to the cinema, because he did not believe in such silly, new-fangled ideas as newspapers and films. We must encourage such admirable institutions as the Monkey Hill at the London Zoological Gardens, where enlightened men, women, and children now go to contemplate in unabashed honesty and spiritual ecstasy the natural and unrestrained frolics of sacred blue-ended baboons. We must, indeed, as Rousseau recommended long ago, "get back to nature" and to the golden age of ancient mythologists and modern anthropologists; to minding a cabbage patch and tending pigs and sheep. One must cultivate one's garden. It is only in this way that human nature can avoid being transformed into an efficiency resembling that of termite ants, those terrible insects which have organized and standardized themselves to such a pitch that their whole life seems to us a horrible nightmare. Perhaps this may appear rather too pessimistic a reading of history. For those who think that it is, I offer an alternative future for human nature. There may possibly be war on such a scale that

it will devastate civilization completely and create such a horror of machines that Samuel Butler's "Erewhon" may come into real existence.

¶ *The profound wisdom of America*

Personally, I have no great fear of standardization. And if it comes, what matter?—so long as men are optimistic and happy and can go on eating and drinking and generally enjoying themselves. Are not rabbits happy? I am far more afraid that the alternative, in the form of war, is the more likely to occur. And I base it upon my reading of the history of human nature. Consider Ludwell Denny's words: "We [America] were Britain's colony once. She will be our colony before she is done; not in name, but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world. Now better machines are giving America power over the world and Britain. We are not content with the richest country on earth. Geniuses of mechanical efficiency, we cannot organize an equitable distribution of our wealth. Instead we exploit nations far less rich. There may have been some excuse for Britain on her poor island to go imperialist. There is none for us with a near continent on which to thrive. But we are not without cunning. We shall not make Britain's mistake. Too wise to try to govern the world we shall merely own it. Nothing can stop us. Nothing, until our financial empire rots at its heart, as empires have a way of doing. If Britain is foolish enough to fight us, she will go down more quickly, that is all!" *

¶ *The next Crusade?*

Now the human animal presents many faces to the world. As a general rule he is all things to all men, but tends to dislike all those who he imagines are in a position to injure him in any way; and likewise he is inclined to love those who may bring him some bene-

* *America Conquers Britain*, by Ludwell Denny.

fit. The perversity of mankind is this, that it will generally change like for dislike the moment a benefit has been received. If you lend money to your best friend and, for reasons over which he has no control, he finds that he is unable to pay you back or finds his comfort disturbed by paying you back, there are a hundred chances to one that he will become your enemy. This tendency in human nature is such that it has in many countries of the world become proverbial. In Spain, for instance, they say: *A reconciled friend is a double enemy*. If we add to Ludwell Denny's words (and the acrimonious history of war debts) this factor which is common to all human nature, we get a potent cause of trouble. A bad atmosphere is created: one in which war thrives.

No Englishman will agree that if there ever should be a war between England and America, England must inevitably go under in battle. Denny has great knowledge of economics, but has he a knowledge of European psychology, British diplomacy, French military genius, and German organizing ability? And does he not know that nations are sometimes reborn? Has he overlooked the old proverb to the effect that "Birds of a feather flock together"? Does he realize that American commercial and financial Success may unite Europe, as Moslem power united Europe during the Crusades? All that is required then is a few good fighting sermons, and a blare of the propaganda trumpet and I fear that we should all once more relapse into the jungle. Besides, before all this occurs, the release of energy from the atom will almost certainly have caused a revolution in human affairs far greater than that caused by the combined industrial and mechanical revolutions of the nineteenth century. But even that will not alter the basic qualities of human nature. No, not in a hundred thousand years.

§ 5. A BRIEF NOTE ON THE FUTURE OF
HUMAN NATURE

WHAT of the future of human nature? My answer is that it will go on and on and on and on—more or less as before. Manners and morals will change; and cultural structures will change. But man and woman will never profoundly alter their natures; by profoundly I mean biologically. That there will be great discoveries and advances in such sciences as biochemistry nobody doubts. It may one day be possible for a man sitting at a wireless machine to cause physical reactions of a foreseen and even deliberately calculated nature in thousands of people who have previously been doped (in the right manner) through the water supply. Such achievements as that will not be beyond science. But they are merely freakish possibilities; and there are already hundreds of such possibilities in the minds of imaginative scientists at this very moment. The mass of humanity jogs along more or less the same in spite of them all; though they are a great comfort in time of war.

Man will probably become a fitter animal—death rates will be reduced, the span of life lengthened; and birth control will counterbalance the extra numbers of useful and useless human beings which science will preserve for us. This may, in the course of four or five hundred years, raise the intelligence of “average” man from the mental age of fourteen to, say, fifteen; or perhaps a little less. It is not upon science that the immediate future of humanity depends, so much as upon politicians; and they are a breed that, without the slightest doubt, grows steadily worse. There is hardly a country in the world in which the word “politician” is not either a term of reproach or (as “cabinet min-

ister" was in one country not long ago) a term of abuse. I offer no constructive solutions for such a state of affairs, as I know that they will inevitably right themselves—and no doubt ultimately end by beginning another historical cycle, which will end in more or less the same way as the last.

Bernard Shaw says, "Government presents only one problem—the discovery of a trustworthy anthropometric method," and Plato long ago recommended a system which would have "philosopher-kings" in charge of affairs. But would the trustworthy anthropometric method (supposing such a method could be devised, which seems to me utterly beyond human capacity) eliminate the bad qualities to be found in the make-up of all good men? By "bad" I mean those unsuitable for the direction of human affairs. Biology cannot be altered by mere measurement. Man is happiest, or so it seems, when his existence is most orderly and peacefully monotonous, and when all his problems, physical and spiritual, are solved without too much irritating effort of the intellect.

We live in an age when affairs of the spirit are said to be in a bad way, and with every prospect of growing steadily worse. The germ of efficiency and success has infected two great sections of the world: first America, and now Russia—the latter in a slightly different sense. We are familiar with American civilization and the manner in which it is working out its destiny. It is, on the whole, a happy manner, and I base this observation upon the fact that, in spite of all that can be said against it (and what I have said is mild compared with what Americans themselves are saying), on the whole it produces a contented, happy, optimistic and—when you know him or her—a very likable type of human being. To my mind, the most significant feature of America today is the quest in all directions for "uplift" and cul-

ture. There are some people who sneer at it. But if it continues and expands, a very fine culture may be the result by the time the disgusting money-craze has spent itself—as it inevitably will spend itself.

By far the most significant possibilities for the future of human nature are to be found in Soviet Russia. Suppression and cruelty resulted in the Bolshevik revolution; and Russia has passed through its "Terror" and is now going through its "Age of Reason." But it is an Age of Reason with science and English and American and German industrialism behind it, from which to learn. Hence Russia, to judge from such evidence as from time to time becomes available, promises to leave every other country behind in sheer ruthless efficiency. The more one reads of this efficiency, the more terrifying it appears. The Russian mind at its highest is a blend of the oriental with occidental. It is a mystical mind of immense range; and of more devastating logic than the French mind. It has a fair leaven of cruelty; and now (as a result of tsarist rule and the reaction thereto) a high social consciousness. This social consciousness is being grafted upon a mass of 150 millions of people by means of propaganda on a scale before which all western propaganda pales. The object of it all is to teach individual man that he must completely use his individuality for the benefit of the mass. The welfare of the mass has taken the place of God and Heaven. "Bliss" and "grace" are achieved by work for the earthly community. This doctrine has reached, in a very few years, a power which almost justifies one in calling Russian Communism a mystical religion—one with all the drive of any of the old religions. It is early yet to judge results: but obviously the creative strength of Soviet Russia is expanding at a rate for which there is no parallel in the history of any other race or nation on this earth.

How will this end? Is it tending for the good or for the bad of human nature? One cannot tell. Unless history is to take an entirely new turn—which it may—the end will be similar to that of nearly all such idealisms: in an abominable, cruel, and materialistic culture, in this case one which will have stupendous efficiency added to render still more intense the innate faults of human nature. In the struggle between individual liberty and mass discipline, mass discipline may win for a time; and while it is on top, Russia may be turned into an organization of humanity on a parallel with the termitarium. Progress will then mean the anthropometric grading of men and women for purposes of collective selfishness. Security and comfort will be achieved at the expense of the emotions; and a highly efficient, vast, and awful machine whose cogs are individual men and women will be the result. Whether this will be generally beneficial to the world and produce better men or women, I do not know. Somehow the human heart beats a little quicker with fear at the possibilities raised in the imagination by the picture of a “human” termitary.

Meanwhile, the rest of the world and the average man will job along somehow, perpetrating human stupidity and goodness as before. Nations will come and go. Some men and women will be beautiful flowers; others rank weeds; others monkey-puzzles. And so on. Men will live their three-score-and-ten years, if they are lucky; they will sleep one-third of this period and be immature or ailing for one-half of it, leaving about twenty-five years for full life—as before. Nothing can alter that. There will always be great fun and great sorrow—sometimes more of one and sometimes more of the other—in the lives of men and women. Eating, drinking, sleeping, and breeding will ever remain the most important functions of human

life. The rest is nearly all mere extrinsic, superficial ornamentation—which may be either simple or elaborate, often depending upon the vagaries of weather and climate and physical surroundings, which are themselves governed by planetary movements and forces over which we can never hope to have control. Scientists may show us a method of ectogenesis: but men and women will persist in a superstitious prejudice in favor of the old, old system of procreation. In that lies the future of human nature. In that lies the assurance that it will be as variegated as ever: that coming generations of men and women will laugh and weep; that they will fight and hate and love one another, just as we do. Fortunately for the generations to come they will have the heritage we leave them, and this is the only thing of which we can be really certain.

So there is no great cause for worry: God will remain in his Heaven; and all will always be well with the world.

THE END

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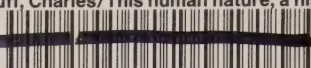
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